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HISTORY

OF

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE,

AND ITS COLONIES,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

TO THE

INDEPENDENCE OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

A. H. L. HEEREN,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN GOTTINGEN AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL FRENCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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DISTRICT CLERK'S OFFICE.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the third day of June, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, SIMEON BUTLER, of the said District, has deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit.

"History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, from the Discovery of America to the Independence of the American Continent. From the German of A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in Gottingen and Member of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned:" and also an act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

6153

May 10, 1854

PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION.

THE views, by which the author of the History of the European System was governed in prosecuting his design, are fully stated by himself in the prefaces which follow. To us no portion of history can have equal interest with that, which is here the subject; it is the period in which our country came into political existence, and of course the only one in which its influences can be traced. The curious observer may find in our laws, our civil usages and our language, the evidence of a connexion between even the remotest ages of historic knowledge and our own; but it has been the lot of America, from the period of its settlement, not exclusively to receive benefits from the old world, but to bestow them in its turn. The great principles of religious freedom were here first reduced to practise; here the experiment was first tried of trusting to the justice of the people to institute, support, and perfect the forms of government. The establishment of a strictly equal representation is purely an American institution; the entire separation of Church and State is found only here; and, in general, the practice and the principles of civil liberty, as decisively triumphant, have regained their influence on civilized nations only by the successful experience of the New World.

This portion of history is therefore of particular interest to us from our direct participation in the causes, which decided the political relations of the states of the civilized world. The manner, in which the history of those relations is here given, will commend itself to the reader for its impartiality, its laborious fidelity, its conciseness amidst a copious use of vast and well-digested materials, and its perspicuity. There exists, it is believed, in our language, no book, from which a general outline of the important revolutions of the three last centuries can so readily be acquired; it will therefore be acceptable to the man of business as a convenient book of reference, and is well adapted to refresh his memory on the points, which he may wish to retain.

But it is especially the numerous class of those, who are desirous of entering on the study of history, to whom the volumes may be a benefit. The topics in modern history, suited to ex-

cite and gratify curiosity, are so numerous, that he who would pursue them in detail without first becoming familiar with the general outline, is bewildered by the variety and extent of the materials, and is liable to the most erroneous judgments from the partial views, which his mind, under such circumstances, must receive. The relative importance of nations and of events cannot be understood; the connexion, which belongs to almost all diplomatic intercourse, remains unperceived; and instead of the great features of the history of the world, the mind is led rather to contemplate partial influences, or to amuse itself with anecdotes and tales of bloodshed. Such a course leads neither to the knowledge of man, nor to the right understanding of political relations.

We may study the history of the last three centuries, with pride; for the aspect, in which our country, first as colonies and then as an independent republic, appears, is one of unblemished honor and uncompromising consistency. Now that European civilization is extending itself over the world, and a general political system is forming, which must embrace within its influence all parts of our globe, the moral power of our nation is employed on the side of rightful liberty. As we survey the crowd of objects on the vast panorama, which universal history spreads before us, we may gaze with admiration on other times and other nations; but we can feel no regret; for the widest experience but changes content in our political condition into a sentiment of exultation. It is well for us also, sometimes to consider our country as a link in the great chain of civil order; to observe its connexion with the destinies of the world; to quicken the sentiment of patriotism by remembering the influences of our system on mankind; to estimate the importance of the establishment of our constitutions, the freedom of our laws, and the extension of our territory, as events that are a benefit to all the nations of the earth; and, finally, to cherish purer gratitude for the great and good among our fathers, who were the benefactors not of us only but of humanity; the glory not of our land only, but men, whose names are to be associated with the noblest and most honored of all former generations.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Round Hill, November, 1828.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Among the great results, which are exhibited to us by the History of the World, that of the European Political System in the three last centuries is the greatest, and to us the most momentous. The political systems, which were formed in Greece in antiquity, and in Italy in the middle ages, were far inferior in power and extent; and if the Macedonian, which was formed out of the division of Alexander's Universal monarchy, may perhaps be compared with it in these and in other respects; yet it did not attain an equal degree of maturity and development. But it is also for us the most important; not merely on account of our personal relations; but also because we are by far the most accurately informed respecting its formation, its changes, and its destinies.

Whoever undertakes to write the history of a political system, (by which we mean a union of neighboring states, resembling each other in manners, religion, and culture, and connected by reciprocal interests,) must especially gain a correct idea of its general character. In that of Europe, it is obvious, that this is to be sought in its internal freedom, the reciprocal independence of its members, amidst all inequalities in power. In this it is distinguished from the opposite class of systems, in which there is an acknowledged leading power.

The historian, who will exhibit the changes in the relations of these states, must therefore regard them as a society of independent persons, possessing various relations with one another. A modern usage of language would, it is true, regard states not as such, but as machines; (a mode of representation, which in Europe is contradicted by the variety of constitutions;) but if it is not possible to make of an army a mere machine, (otherwise none would ever fly); how is it possible with civil society?

The author, proceeding from these fundamental ideas, necessarily found the field of his investigations very much enlarged. He could not limit himself merely to the external change of relations; but strove rather to penetrate into the interior, and trace the springs, which produced and continued the motion. In every society of moral beings, therefore in every union of states, certain general ideas will prevail, from which spring the leading

maxims of conduct; although it is not necessary to assume a generally adopted system. But these ideas, from their very nature, cannot be unchangeable; for this reason, to mention no others, that the leading minds do not remain the same. For this same reason it is foolish to demand that cabinets should act according to a uniform system, although every reasonable government must act according to certain maxims. To seize on those leading ideas of each age, and to exhibit the maxims, springing from them, is therefore the first requisite. But the several members of such a union have, each its character, its mode of existing and of acting. But these also are subject to change; and how could the general history of the union be rightly executed, if these changes in the several leading states were not at least made the subject of allusion?

In these remarks lies the justification of the plan of the author. It was not his purpose to give merely a sketch of the change in the relations and of the consequent events, although this could not but compose the most important part of his work. He wished at the same time to exhibit their foundation in the prevailing ideas of each age, and at the same time with reference to the leading powers, as the acting personages in the union, to illustrate the formation of their characters, and the modes of action, which ensued from them. For this purpose passages relating to the several states have been inserted, wherever it seemed necessary. It would be an entire mistake, to regard these passages as an attempt to give the special, in connexion with the general history of the states. The other very definite object was rather kept in view. But that the colonies, their progress and their influence are likewise brought into consideration, will require no justification. Without them, from their immense and increasing mercantile and political importance for the European continent, how limited must the view have remained! The parts, relating to them, may the more expect a favorable reception, the less this subject has hitherto been satisfactorily treated.

From this it is obvious, that the author has not avoided labor in accomplishing his purpose; the closer inspection of each separate division will, it is hoped, give clearer proofs of it. It has been his endeavor always to preserve the general view of the whole, and always to represent each individual subject in the light, in which, after deliberate study, it appeared to his own mind; for it is his wish to give on each subject the results of his own reflection, with the brevity, required by the form of his work, and thus to give to the friends of history the leading great ideas. For this, he believes he may venture to assert, from the great number, and no less from the great variety of the subjects, long and various previous labors were required. Without an intimate acquaintance with the whole circle of political sciences, who can write the more recent history of Europe? He is not

ignorant of the objections, which are commonly urged against the mere scholar in judging of the policy of cabinets; he has himself felt the necessity of preserving a lively sense for practical politics by keeping entirely remote from all speculation; and although he has not been unfaithful to the decent freedom, which the judgment of the past permits; he believes he has equally maintained the respect, which is due even to the shades of the men who have moved in great spheres of action. Is it further necessary to remark, that his observations are made in constant reference to the times and the relations, of which he wrote? His history embraces the period of the political balance of power.—This idea, therefore, lay necessarily at the bottom of all his remarks.

While the author was thus treating of the European Political System, he saw it fall in its most essential parts. Its history was written upon its ruins. When was such a work ever executed under similar circumstances? Excluding from his circle those events* of the nearest times past, as not yet ripe for narration, he hopes to have preserved a full view of the whole; in which effort he was perhaps favored by his personal situation. Having been brought up in a small but happy republic, [Bremen], he has passed the years of manhood under mild monarchical forms; and thus brought to the study of history some practical ideas, simple in their nature, but the result of his own observations; which, however dim perhaps for others, have served him as guiding stars through its territory. He has not been untrue to his respect for the nation to which he belongs; for the rest, as he has never been a citizen of one of the principal states of Europe, he could cherish partiality for none of them.

To write as a man of human relations was therefore the purpose of the author. But it never lay in his plan, to raise himself to that higher point of view, from which our speculative historians, regarding the European Political System only as a link in the chain of events, assume to measure the progress of humanity. Men who have taken that point of view, have assured him, that they saw no more than could be seen from below; that the prospect on the one side, the past, was as limited; on the other, the future, was but clouds, in which they were hardly able to discern some doubtful forms. It was the place, they thought, for having visions. The author deemed it his first duty to remain on the firm ground of history; and considered the possibility of doing so, in the immense extent of his subject, as its most essential advantage.

A numerous society of States, in long and various connexions, cultivate and corrupts itself, just as a great mass of men under similar circumstances. The evils, which brought on the fall of

* The earlier editions of 1809 and 1810 went only to the establishment of the French Imperial throne 1804. Voll. II. p. 239.

the European Political System, like its good, proceeded chiefly from the circumstance, that it was a system. To display the causes, which prepared the catastrophe, lay in the plan of the author; but he is very far from the arrogance of pretending to have shown, that the results *must* have been just as they were.—No eye, but that of the Eternal, sees through the whole web of history. But the modest inquirer also, will perhaps in the picture of the past discover, beside the illustration of what has been done, the prospect of a greater and more glorious futurity; if, instead of the limited European System of the centuries, that are gone, he beholds, by the diffusion of European culture over remote continents and the flourishing settlements beyond the Ocean, the elements for a more free and vaster Political System of the World, which is already rising in its power; the theme for the historian of coming generations. Göttingen, 1809.

Extracts from the Author's Preface to the Fourth Edition.

———The continuation and the last period can gain its value only by its connexion with the earlier parts, and should be read and estimated only in this series. The author had already, in what went before, expressed his own principles and sentiments so plainly, that no other mode of treating the subject could have been expected. He believed it the justest view of the man, who here required to be named so frequently, if he considered him as an instrument of Providence, for purposes other and higher than his own; and here was room enough for preserving with reference to him and the nation, which suffered itself to be abused by him, the tone of decency and of dignity, which history of itself demands.

* * * * *

That it is impossible to write the history of one's own times as satisfactorily as of the past, the author has most sensibly felt during the course of his labor; for what reader does not bring to it his own views, his own opinions, and his own feelings? And what writer can satisfy them all? The author could aim only at exhibiting the events, which came under review, according to the political principles, which he regards as immutable; and which are the ruling ones from the first to the last page of his work. This is the impartiality, after which he strives; and no other.

May the severe lessons of the recent times, be not without their use for the future! May no violent possessor of power again endeavor to throw Europe in chains! May the nations show themselves worthy of the freedom, which they have once more won; and the princes not be confounded at it, even though they perceive, that its use—is never wholly without abuse.

Göttingen, 1822.

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II. Collections of the Sources: A. State Papers.

A critical view of the collections of them is: de Martens Discours sur les recueils de traités, prefixed to: Supplement au Recueil des traités. Vol. I.—The most important general collections, which ought here to be mentioned, are:

Recueil des Traités de Paix, de trêve, de neutralité, d' alliance, de commerce, etc. depuis la naissance de J. C. jusqu' à présent, à Amsterdam et à la Haye. 1700. T. I—IV. fol. Commonly named after one of the booksellers, who undertook it, the collection of Moetjens.

Corps universel diplomatique de droit des gens, contenant un Recueil des traités d' alliance, de paix, de trêve, de commerce, etc. depuis le regne de l' Empereur Charle-Magne jusqu' à present, par J. du Mont. à Amsterdam et la Haye. 1726—1731. 8 vol. fol. The chief collection. It contains the State Papers from 800—1731. Those for the last three centuries, from 1501, begin with the 4th vol. Supplementary to this work and in continuation of it: Supplemens au Corps universel diplomatique, par M. Rousset, à Amsterdam. T. I—V. 1739., so that the whole work consists of 13 volumes. The supplements contain in the three first volumes, partly the earlier State Papers before 800; partly supplements, properly so called; and partly a continuation till 1738. The two last volumes contain: Le Cérémonial politique des Cours de l' Europe; with the documents appertaining thereto.

A convenient manual selection is given by Schmauss, Corpus juris gentium academicum. Lips. 1730. 2 voll. 4to. The collection embraces the period from 1100—1730.

As a continuation of these selections may be regarded: Ferd. Aug. Wilh. Wenkii Codex juris gentium recentissimi, e tabulariorum exemplariumque fide dignorum monumentis compositus. Lipsiae. T. I. 1781. T. II. 1788. T. III. 1795. 8vo. The collection includes the period from 1735—1772.

The collection for the most recent times are due to Von Martens.

Recueil des principaux traités d' Alliance, de paix, de trêve, de neutralité, de commerce, etc. conclus par les puissances de l' Europe, tant entre elles qu' avec les puissances, et les états dans d' autres parties du Monde depuis 1761, jusqu' à présent par M. de Martens. à Goettingue. 1791—1802. 7 voll. 8vo. Seconde édition revue et augmentée. 1818. (Thus far vol. I—IV.)

The collection goes from 1761, to the peace of Luneville 1801. There also appeared afterwards:

Supplement au Recueil de principaux traités depuis 1761, jusqu' à présent, précédé de traités du 18me siécle antérieurs à cette époque, et qui ne se trouvent pas dans le Corps universel diplomatique de M. Dumont et Rousset et autres Recueils généraux de traités par M. de Martens. Vol. I. II. 8vo. Goettingue. 1802. Vol. III. IV. et dernier 1808. Beside the supplements the collection was at the same time continued to the end of the year 1807. There still followed: Vol. V. 1808—1814, Avril inclusiv. 1817. Vol. VI. to the end of 1816. Vol. VII. 1808—1818. inclusiv. with copious registers. Vol. VIII. 1818—1819. inclusiv. The four last parts also under the title: Nouveau Recueil des principaux traités d' alliance etc. à Goettingue. 1817—1820. T. I—IV. 8vo.

B. Memoirs. The accounts, given by statesmen and generals themselves, of the events, in which they took part, unquestionably belong to the most important historical sources. Their abundance, has resulted from the fashion that has at certain periods prevailed, for men and women to write them, especially in France, since Philip de Comines, who really begins the series, (his Mémoires extend from 1464 to 1498), and is an essential advantage of modern history. They expose the hidden, psychological connection of events, and are at the same time the true school for the

forming statesman. But the critical inquirer, in making use of them, is never to forget, that their authors always brought to the work their own views, and not seldom their own passions; and all too often used disguise towards themselves. The chief collections are:

Collection Universelle des Mémoires particuliers relatifs à l' histoire de France. à Londre et se trouve à Paris, Vol. 1—65. 1785—1791. And the continuation: Vol. 66—70. Paris. 1806. It only extends to the end of the 16th century.

Allgemeine Sammlung historischer Memoirs vom 12. Jahrhundert bis auf die neuesten Zeiten, durch mehrere Verfasser übersetzt, mit den nöthigen Anmerkungen und jedesmal mit einer Universal-historischen. Uebersicht versehen von Fr. Schiller. I. Abth. B. 1—4. II. Abth. B. 1—26. Jena. 1790—1803. This contains a selection of the more important memoirs, down to the times of the Duke of Orleans' regency.

III. Works on the general history of Modern Europe.

J. J. Schmauss Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft. I. II. Theil. Leipzig. 1741 and 1747. The first part contains: "The history of the Balance of Europe," (or the public dissensions of Western Europe,) from 1484—1740. The second: "The history of all the treaties, closed between the Northern Powers, Denmark, Sweden, Russia and Prussia."—This work is finished with method and care, and can never cease to be serviceable.

Le droit public de l' Europe, fondé sur les traités; précédé de principes des négociations pour servir d' introduction par M. l' Abbé de Mably. Nouvelle édition continuée jusqu' à la paix de 1793; avec des Remarques historiques, politiques et critiques par M. Rousset; à Amsterdam et Leipsic. 1773. 3 Voll. 8vo. The assertions of Mably, and the refutations of Rousset give nearly the French and the Anti-French views of the practical politics of Europe at that time.

Tableau des révolutions de l' Europe par M. C. W. Koch. 1790. Nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée. T. I. II. III. Strasb. et Paris. 1813. Of the three volumes, V. I. extends to 1300, V. II. to 1713, V. III. to 1800. Attached to it are: Tables généalogiques des maisons souveraines de l' Europe. A useful work, written with criticism; as all the writings of this diplomatic historian.

Tableau des relations extérieurs des puissances de l' Europe tant entre elles qu' avec d' autres états dans les diverses parties du globe par G. Fr. de Martens. à Berlin. 1801.—This is the third part of the Cours diplomatique.—The constant regard, which is here extended to commerce and colonies, would be sufficient to secure to it a distinguished value.

Histoire générale et raisonnée de la diplomatie française depuis la fondation de la monarchie jusqu' à la fin du regne de Louis XVI. par M. de Flassan. à Paris. 1809. 2d edit. 1811. 7 Voll. 8vo. A history of French diplomacy is not much less than that of the European political system. The use of the most important diplomatic sources, the fidelity and exactness of the accounts, and a rare impartiality of judgment, give to this work a classic value. Modern history begins in the first volume.

Grundriss einer Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Welthändel neuerer Zeit in einem erzählenden Vortrage von Joh. G. Büsch. Third edition. 1796.—The history begins with 1440, and extends in the latest edition to 1795.—This is no continuing narration, but is useful for beginners, to learn the materials of modern history.

Geschichte der drei letzten Jahrhunderte von Joh. Gottfr. Eichhorn. Göttingen. VI Th. 8vo. Third edition. 1817. Here belong the first volume, which gives a view of general history, and the two last, in as far as they contain the history of the colonies.

Tableau des révolutions du systéme politique de l' Europe : depuis la fin du quinzième siècle par M. Ancillon. à Berlin. Vol. I. II. 1803. Vol. III. IV. 1805.—This is a most valuable work, of which the completion is to be desired. The 4th volume extends to the peace of Utrecht.

Of compendiums Achenwall's Entwurf der allgemeinen Europäischen Staatshändel des 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts, obtained the merited favor. It comprises, however, only the period from 1600 to 1748.

Grundriss einer diplomatischen Geschichte der Europäischen Staatshändel und Friedensschlüsse, seit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrhunderts bis zum Frieden von Amiens. Zum Gebrauch academischer Vorlesungen von G. Fr. von Martens. Berlin. 1807.

1. The history of the European Political System, is not the history of the several states. It is rather the history of their mutual relations; especially of the leading states, in as far as these relations were the result of the peculiar character of the states severally; the personal qualities of their rulers; and the prevailing opinions of the time. A necessary condition of the change of these relations, and therefore the general character of this political system, is its internal freedom; the secure existence and the reciprocal independence of its component parts. To show how this was formed, endangered, and preserved,—is therefore the chief object of the historian; which however cannot be obtained, except by developing the whole series of the internal relations of the system, and the causes by which they were produced.

2. The history of this political system, embracing the three last centuries, forms an important part of universal modern history, as opposed to the history of antiquity and the middle ages. Although no single event here distinctly makes an epoch and forms an exact dividing line as between antiquity and the middle ages, yet the union of several great events prepared a change, sufficient to justify the division.

These events are: 1. The conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Turkish empire in Europe, 1453. 2. The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, 1492. 3. The discovery of the passage to the East Indies by Vasco de Gama, 1497; and the changes in the course of the commerce of the world in consequence of these

two discoveries. 4. The changes in the art of war, resulting from the use of gunpowder. To show the political influence of these causes in Europe, is the purpose of the following investigations.

3. Europe acquires in this period an importance for universal history; such as it never before had possessed. Africa, and America until the independence of the colonies, contained no one domestic state of general importance; and of the three great kingdoms of Asia, the Persian under the Sophis, the Indian under the Moguls, and the Chinese, none but the latter sustained itself, and that only under a foreign dynasty.

The Persian empire of the Sophis was founded by Ishmael Sophi since 1500. It attained its greatest power under Shah Abbas 1585—1628, was overthrown by the Afghans 1722, and, on the murder of the succeeding tyrant, Kuli Chan or Nadir Shah, 1747 fell into anarchy.—The Mogul empire in India was established by the Sultan Babur, a descendant of Timour's since 1526. It gradually embraced the lands on the Indus and the Ganges and the hither peninsula; was at its zenith of power from the reign of Acbar the Great 1556—1605, to the death of Aureng Zebe †1707, after which it fell asunder, and was almost entirely reduced by the conquest of Nadir Shah 1739, and by the policy of the Europeans.—The revolution in China, by the conquest of the Mantchew Tartars, whose dominion still continues, took place 1644.

4. But the Europeans during this period establish their dominion, and with it their religion and their culture, in the other continents by their colonies, which, in spite of the efforts of the mother states to hold them in strict dependence, have in part already grown to independence, and in part

appear to be more and more ripening for it. The history of these colonies is of itself an essential part of the history of the European political system. It is, however, still more so by the vast, and constantly increasing, influence, which these settlements obtained not only on general commerce which was formed by them, but on the practical politics of the leading states of Europe. The historian has, therefore, to show, not merely the history of these several establishments, but, above all, their various influence upon Europe.

5. In Europe itself the ancient states for the most part continued; but more intimate and more various relations were formed among them, than had formerly been the case; and in this sense Europe may be considered as forming a political system, of which the history may be followed as a whole.

Those closer relations were in general a consequence of advancing culture, which will always produce between neighboring states various points of union; yet they presuppose certain central points of a common interest. These were found: *a.* in the contests respecting Italy; *b.* in the religious contests after the reformation; *c.* in the necessity of defence against the Turks; *d.* in the commerce with the colonies, which was constantly increasing in value, and in the mercantile interests, resulting from it generally.—As to all this there was further added *e.* the so much easier communication by means of printing and posts, the nations of Christian Europe were, as it were, morally united in one community, which was only politically divided.

6. The European political system, notwithstanding its internal variety, was yet till the last period a system of predominant monarchies, in which re-

publics, with the exception of the united Netherlands, which alone rose to a considerable degree of power, were only tolerated. This predominancy of the monarchies had the greatest influence on the spirit of politics. It was the cause, *a.* that the nations themselves took less part in public affairs. Powerful popular parties, and the storms excited by them, such as are seen in the great republics of antiquity, would have been wholly unknown, unless similar appearances had been produced by religion. *b.* On the contrary, the direction of public affairs was more and more concentrated in the hands of the princes and their ministers; and thus that cabinet policy was formed, which particularly characterizes the European Political System.

7. In the midst of this undeniable uniformity, which makes modern history so unlike ancient, there is yet manifest all the variety, which was compatible with it. Every form of monarchy, hereditary and elective, unlimited, constitutional, and even that where the authority of kings is but a shadow, was seen in Europe in actual existence. And in the few republics, which it contained, what a distance from the pure aristocracy of Venice to the pure democracy of a canton of herdsmen! It was doubtless this variety, which preserved practically in circulation a greater compass of political ideas, the origin of the political superiority of Europe, and an important, perhaps the chief cause of its general culture.

8. The greater consistency, which this system received, resulted in a good degree from the for-

tunate circumstance, that its centre was composed of a state, of which the form, imperfect as it was with reference to itself, was yet extremely beneficial for the whole, the German Empire. Without such a central state, important to all but dangerous to none, how could that system have been formed? An enlightened policy also soon perceived, that with the preservation of that state the preservation of the existing order of things in Europe was connected; and the great statesmen and heroes, who desired the former, desired the latter also.

9. The supports, which could and did preserve this system, and continued to the weak its security and independence against the strong, were of various kinds. A rightful condition among the several states, such as may be projected in theory, was at all times far from being formally established; yet as a gradual result of the progress of culture, a system of international law was developed, which, reposing not merely on express treaties, but also on silent agreements, enjoined the observance of certain maxims in peace, but more especially in times of war, and which, though often violated, were still eminently beneficial. Even the strict, and sometimes excessive etiquette, mutually observed by the states towards one another, was by no means a matter of indifference, if considered only as a mutual acknowledgement of independence on the part of states, often the most unlike in power and constitution.*

* Sam. Puffendorf. Jus Gentium.
Bourlamaquy droit de la nature et des gens. 1766.

10. The first and most important fruit of this law of nations, and at the same time the chief support of the whole system, was the sacredness of a recognized, rightful possession; without which no such system can be supported at all. Its maintenance was promoted by the circumstance, that most of the states were hereditary. And it was an elective monarchy, by whose unjust division the principle above-stated was practically destroyed. Earlier invasions by individuals had but served the more to confirm it.

Here too the influence of the German body politic was beneficial by the example afforded of the continuance of small states and even cities by the side of large ones.

11. Of not less importance was the principle adopted of preserving the balance of power; that is, the mutual preservation of freedom and independence, by guarding against the preponderance and usurpation of an individual. Is more than this explanation requisite, to shew its full value? Whatever was required for its maintenance, formed the constant problem for higher policy; nothing but shortsighted narrowness could at last seek for it merely in the equal division of the gross strength of nations. Its support produced as consequences:

De Vattel le droit des gens ou principes de la loi naturelle appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains. 1758. This work has obtained the most authority with practical statesmen.

Précis du droit des gens fondé sur les traités et l' usage, par M. de Martens, Troisiéme édition, revue et augmentée; à Goettingue. 1821. The last literary labor of the author, who has done so much for political science.

Grundriss eines Systems des Europäischen Völkerrechts von Fr. Saalfeld. Göttingen. 1809.

a. a constantly wakeful attention of the states to one another, and various consequent relations by means of alliances and counter alliances, especially of the more distant states; *b.* the greater importance of the states of the second and third order in the political system; *c.* in general, the preservation of a feeling of the value of independence; and the elevation of politics above gross selfishness.

The idea of a political balance of power was to a certain extent developed in every free system of cultivated states—in Greece as in Italy—for it lies in the way of such a system. It was therefore the natural fruit of political culture; and its abandonment leads at once to the annihilation or subjection of the weaker. Secure neither from abuse nor destruction, it affords no perfect security, yet the greatest security possible; for entire security can never belong to human institutions.

12. The European political system found a third support in the establishment of maritime powers; which most of all have especially contributed to the support of the balance of power. The rise of maritime states and the peculiar nature of this influence in the political scale of Europe, did not leave the decision of every thing to the land forces, which, as they depend almost exclusively on the number of the population, are always most easily formed.

13. In a system of states, most of which were hereditary, the family connections, in the fourth place, of the ruling houses obtained an importance, which might increase or diminish, but could never wholly cease. The generally prevalent principle, that princes could marry none but the daughters of princes, was a security against the evils, which

are inseparable from marriages with subjects; but the equal dangers, which follow the connection of the more powerful ruling families, Europe escaped only through the fortunate circumstance, that Germany contained petty princely families, which gave queens to most of the European thrones. Thus it was possible to form a connection of most of the ruling houses, which was neither so near, as to exercise immediately a controlling influence on politics, nor yet so remote, as to fail of being an important bond, which continued to be of manifest strength, even when all other bonds seemed to be dissolved.

14. The constitutions of most of the kingdoms of Europe, by no means rested in written documents; though perhaps in some of them, some fundamental laws existed; but, especially in the states of German origin, had grown out of the feudal system; and could not, therefore, but have a resemblance in certain leading features. By the side of the princes at the beginning of this period there stood universally a nobility, which was for the most part subdivided into a higher and a lower, and which had thus far obeyed the princes not much more, than suited the circumstances of the time and personal relations. With it the clergy had every where an important influence on public affairs, and both formed the higher or privileged class, because they enjoyed such great privileges in respect of taxes, and occupied the first seats in the assemblies of the states. But in these very governments, an element, entirely foreign to the strict feudal constitution, a free class

of citizens, had been formed; a fruit of the cities, which had flourished by commerce. Its deputies were likewise summoned to the assemblies, to the end that it might grant taxes, of which it had to bear the chief burden. The great mass of the agricultural population, for the most part still in the condition of an absolute or partial bondage, though very variously modified, in a political point of view formed no integral part of the nations. In the relation of the two last classes to the two first, there appeared to lie the seed of necessary, sudden or gradual, reforms; for unfortunately the assembly of the states advanced in no one of the continental states to be a well organized national representation; by which alone the constitution could have acquired an internal strength, that would have protected it against despotism and anarchy.

15. At first therefore, the royal authority in these kingdoms was every where much limited. Without the aid of the nobility no important war could be carried on; without the consent of the cities no taxes could be raised. Without standing armies, (a small beginning excepted); without political economy, (no art was known, but that of getting money); there were at that time no powers, in the present sense of the word. But the royal authority was almost every where increasing and continued to increase; Ferdinand Catholicus, Louis XI. and Henry VII. understood the art of establishing it; their successors Philip II., Louis XIV. and others, of enlarging it, till it became absolute; with no misgivings, that they were thus preparing its overthrow.

16. The history of modern Europe is naturally divided into three periods, of which the two first are alike in point of time; we stand ourselves, as it were, in the beginning of the third. The first extends from the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. himself; 1492—1661. The second, from that time to the death of Frederic the Great and the beginning of the political revolutions in Europe; 1661—1786. The third from then to our own times. The reason for this division lies in the difference of the character of practical politics in each period; in reference to which we might call the first the political-religious, the second the mercantile-military; the last the revolutionary and constitutional. The first was the period of the rise, the second of the confirmation, the third of the dissolution and restoration of the balance of power, as above explained.

17. The nature of things requires, that, in the two first periods and the first part of the third, the history of the northern European political system should be kept separate from that of the southern. The former embraces the monarchies of Russia, Sweden, Poland and Denmark; the latter the remaining states. The Prussian monarchy, since its aggrandizement the link, connecting the two systems, belongs to both. Although at particular seasons there had earlier been an active participation of the North in the contests of the South, still it was but transitory, till after the fall of Poland; yet it of course follows, that the continuing reciprocal influence of the two is not to be overlooked.

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

FIRST PERIOD.

From the end of the Fifteenth Century to the age of Louis XIV. 1492—1661.

FIRST PART.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICAL SYSTEM.

1. The Reformation, which broke out soon after the beginning of this period, determined its character. As the religious interest, which was then excited, became the prevailing one in politics, religious disputes were identified with political; and religious parties were likewise parties in politics. This union was at times more or less intimate, but it still continued to give to the spirit of the age its direction.

2. The southern political system embraces all the states of southern Europe; but the chief members are Spain, France, England, Austria, the German empire, the Pope, and the Port. By these the political relations were determined; and when compared with the other powers, which were or soon became passive, they may be called the active members.

Of these kingdoms SPAIN under Ferdinand and Isabella had the brightest prospect opened to itself. The union of Aragon, (to which Sicily and Sardinia belonged,) and Castile, for which the way was prepared by their marriage 1469,

laid the foundation of its internal strength; and the discovery of America opened to it immeasurable prospects. Yet it was strictly the conquest of Grenada 1492, which awakened the national spirit; but also paved the way, chiefly by means of the inquisition, to the despotic authority of the kings, although the form of the constitution of states (Cortes) was not immediately changed.

France enjoyed not less advantages, (the discoveries excepted). Although at that time it was much more limited in extent, it was yet enlarged by the acquisition of the neighboring Bretagne on the marriage of Charles VIII. 1491. By the policy of Louis XI. and the fall of the last too powerful vassal, Charles the Bold of Burgundy 1477, the royal authority was established as firmly as any where, and the power of the states (Etats généraux) was already on the decline. But considered as a leading member of the system, what advantages had not France above the rest by its geographical situation?

In a similar manner in England the royal authority was regularly on the increase under Henry VII. 1483—1509, after the termination of the wars between the white and red rose. Although the parliament was formed in its chief features, it was still and long remained a body without a soul; but by its organization it was more capable of life than other constitutions of states. Still separated from Scotland, possessed of a wavering authority in Ireland, and without a marine, England could hardly have participated in the continental disputes, if the remaining possession of Calais had not as it were opened the gate to France; yet a gate, through it was no longer possible to penetrate far.

The Austrian Monarchy was in a forming state; for most of its possessions were not less scattered than uncertain. To the ancient possession of Austria (since 1276) the Netherlands were added since 1477 by the marriage of Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy; and when the claims of the Hapsburgs to Hungary and Bohemia led to a perma-

nent possession since 1527, this was limited not only by the factions, peculiar to elective kingdoms, but also, especially in Hungary, by the wars with the Turks. The imperial crown conferred little strength with much splendor. But for the prospect that opened of the Spanish throne, (see below) the power of Austria would have remained very much circumscribed.

The GERMAN EMPIRE seemed to acquire a better organization by the regulations of Maximilian I. 1492—1519. These were the law for establishing peace, right, and order, the imperial courts, the division into circles, and the body to which was entrusted the maintenance of peace and order in the emperor's name. But being unfortunately always entangled in foreign disputes, he only accomplished the half of what was needed. Thus the empire remained, full of life in its separate parts, yet weak as a whole, till the reformation aroused its energies, yet chiefly to nothing but internal dissensions. Oppressed by all the evils of internal subdivisions and the superior power of its neighbors, this wonderful state was still preserved partly by its own strength, partly through particular happy relations, but especially by the opinion, which soon became general, that its preservation and freedom were essential to the preservation and freedom of the whole political system of Europe.

The POPES appeared in the double form, as masters of the states of the Church (see below), and as the chiefs of Christendom. The interests of the two were not always the same. How beneficently for Europe might not their parental authority have been exerted, had not their passions so often dissipated the halo of the venerable! Yet their policy remained a rare example of firmness and versatility. Full of high demands, and yet without arms; supported solely by public opinion, and yet in a steady and constantly increasing opposition to public opinion; they sustained themselves without giving up even what they lost by consistency; well aware, that in the end, men could not do without them.

The PORT, at that time essentially a conquering power, attained the zenith of its greatness under Soliman II. (1520—1566). Formidable by its regular infantry, the Janizaries, it threatened to become not less so by its marine, which might have secured to it the dominion of the Mediterranean and that of the countries along the coasts. Standing in a hostile attitude to Christian Europe, it was and always remained foreign to it; and according to the wish of the popes, the danger from the Turks was long to effect the union of Christendom; but the alliance into which the Port soon entered with France, frustrated this hope, and made it a member, though always a heterogeneous one, of the European political system.

Of the other states of Southern Europe PORTUGAL was exclusively employed in its discoveries and conquests (see below); SWITZERLAND, at first formidable by its mercenaries, soon withdrew to a happy inactivity; and VENICE gradually resembled a wealthy commercial house, which gives up most of its business, in order to enjoy repose.

FIRST PERIOD.

I. *History of the contests respecting Italy, from* 1494 *to* 1515.*

3. Italy towards the end of the fifteenth century, was the object of conquests, and consequently the central point of European politics. If the internal condition of this country was fitted to invite a conqueror, it was not less so, to support the contests, when once begun. In a country so di-

* Istoria d' Italia di Francisco Guicciardini. II voll. fol. Venezia. 1738. (The edition of Friburgo, 1775, IV voll. 4to. pretends to be more complete, but has in part only a few unimportant additions.) The leading work; as the

vided, causes were not wanting for internal strife; and thus foreigners could not fail to find opportunities for interference, when they had once taken part. Unimportant, therefore, as the contests of the Italian States may seem for the whole, they are not so in reality. They were at that time the small wheels, which set and kept in motion the whole machinery of European politics.

4. Italy about this time was eminently flourishing in science and arts. For more than a century, it had been a world by itself, as well in reference to its politics as its culture. In the enjoyment of independence its states formed a system, in which in connection with efforts to preserve the equilibrium a more refined policy was formed, which, however, especially after the death of Lorenzo de Medici, degenerated more and more into a mere crafty selfishness, and soon effected its own destruction. The chief members of this system were the duchy of Milan and the republic of Venice in the North; the republic of Florence and the States of the Church in the centre; and the kingdom of Naples in the South. 1492.

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author, himself engaged in public business, was at once the contemporary, and impartial narrator and critic of the events. The work extends from 1490 to 1532.

Mémoires de Philippe de Comines. Paris. 1747. IV voll. They end as early as 1498.

The works as well on French History in general, of Mezeray, Daniel, Meusel &c. as the special histories of Charles VIII. (in Godefroi Histoire de Charles VIII. Paris. 1684.) and Louis XII. (Histoire de Louis XII. par Varillas. Paris. 1688.) and the Vies de Louis XII. Paris. 1615—1620. published by D. Godefroy, also contain the narration of these events; yet only with reference to France.

1. The duchy of MILAN, to which at that time not only Parma and Piacenza, but also Genoa belonged, was a German fief, held under the emperor; but after the failure of male issue in the house of Visconti since 1450 it had been in the possession of the house of Sforza, out of which, after the death of its founder Francis Sforza 1466 and the murder of his son Galeazzo Maria 1476, his son, the weak John Galeazzo governed under the inspection of his ambitious uncle Lewis Morus, who finally supplanted him.

2. The republic of VENICE had already acquired upon the continent all that it was ever to possess, yet without renouncing the hope of acquiring more. Its hereditary plans of enlargement were directed towards Romagna, (most of which she had gained), and Milan. To the entire possession of the latter the boldest wishes of the senate hardly aspired; but the projects, once firmly rooted, were pursued with all the cunning and perseverance, of which such policy of aristocrats is susceptible. Where at that time was Venice not held as a master in the science of state?

3. The PAPAL TERRITORY was not only in the north very loosely defined, but the power, as yet but little impaired, of the great families in several cities, rendered this dominion still more uncertain. The popes themselves not infrequently stood in the way of their aggrandizement by the nepotism, which induced them to prefer the interest of their family to that of the Roman chair; and in this the reigning pope, Alexander VI. (1492—1503) was hardly surpassed by any of his predecessors or followers.

4. The FLORENTINE REPUBLIC with its democratic form remained for almost a century under the principality of the house of Medici, of which after the death of Lorenzo the great his son Peter, very unlike the father, was at the head. Although since the subjection of Pisa 1407 its territory was enlarged, the spirit of the Pisans was not yet subdued. In this as well as in the nature of the supremacy of the Medici, which, built only upon superior talents, could not but waver,

when these failed, lay the seeds for revolutions, that bore only too abundant fruits.

5. The kingdom of NAPLES (divided from Sicily, which belonged to Aragon), stood under a collateral branch of this family. Alfonso V. (1.) of Aragon (†1458) had bequeathed it to his illegitimate son Ferdinand I., who was succeeded in 1494 by his elder son Alfonso II. But he in 1495 gave up the crown to his son Ferdinand II.; who, dying in 1496, had his uncle Frederic for his successor; and he in 1501 lost his kingdom to Ferdinand Catholicus. The largest state of Italy was the weakest, because the kings were hated, and the nation had no character.

5. Charles VIII. of France, marched against Naples, in order to make good the claims, inherited by him from his father, of the younger house of Anjou to that kingdom. The instigations of dissatisfied emigrants, and the invitation of Lewis Morus, to maintain himself in Milan, turned the scale; with the conquest of Naples they connected a still grander project of overturning the Turkish empire. Such extensive plans belong to the childhood of politics, which does not as yet know how to measure the means and the difficulties of execution. 1494.

Italy and Naples were taken easily and without bloodshed, Sept. 1494 to May 1495. King Ferdinand II. fled to Ischia, and Florence and Rome had both opened their gates to Charles. On the 22d of February, Charles VIII. held his entry into Naples; and the submission of the land ensued. An army of 30,000 men with 140 pieces of cannon, were sufficient to stun and to take Italy, but not to maintain it.

6. But during the expedition the negotiations began for an alliance, to drive the foreigners again out of Italy, and of this alliance Venice was the

soul. The Pope and even Lewis Morus united with it; Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian were inclined to accede to it; and negotiations were very quietly begun even with the hereditary foe of Christendom. As early as May, Charles VIII. was obliged to quit Naples again, and fight his passage through, in order to make his way home.

The king retreated from Naples with half his army, 20th May 1495. At Fornua a battle was fought and a victory gained over the Venetians and their allies July 6th. The moiety of the army, which had been left at Naples, was obliged to capitulate, and Ferdinand II. again came into possession of his kingdom.

7. But even this unsuccessful attempt was not without consequences for Europe. A limit was set to the plans of conquest in Italy; a spirit of negotiating was awakened; and—more than all in importance—passions were excited, for Charles VIII. panted for revenge. The contest, excited between Pisa and Florence kept Italy in a ferment; as both Milan and Venice hoped to gain by it; and made it easier for the foreigners to find allies. Yet Charles VIII. did not live to take
1498. vengeance; a sudden death removed him
7 Apr. from the world.

8. His plans of conquest were extended under his successor, Louis XII.; who besides the old claims to Naples, brought to the throne yet others of his own to Milan, derived from his grandmother Valentina, of the house of Visconti. A portion of the booty was promised to Venice and the Pope; and while the negotiations with the foreign powers were still pending, the easy conquest was already achieved.

Milan was taken, Aug. 1499. Lewis Morus had recourse to flight, and after a vain attempt to recover the city, was taken and thrown into prison, April 10th, 1500, where he was compelled to spend the rest of his days. To Venice were allotted Cremona and Ghirar d' Adda; and Alexander VI. finally appeared to be near the accomplishment of his wish, to procure for his son Cesar Borgia, an independent principality in Romagna.

9. The conquest of Milan would have led to an immediate attack on Naples, had this been possible without a previous convention with Spain. Ferdinand Catholicus concluded a secret treaty, that he might become the betrayer of his cousin Frederic of Naples and afterwards of Louis XII. himself; and the Pope promised the investiture.

A secret treaty respecting the division was made between Ferdinand and Louis XII. Nov. 11th, 1500. The deceived Frederic was easily overpowered, and died in a prison in France; his kingdom was conquered July 1501.

10. The exertions of each party to acquire the whole gave rise to altercations and at last to a war about the division. Greater alliances in the interior, artifice and a general like Gonsalvo of Cordova, gave Ferdinand the superiority, and Spain soon remained in undivided possession of the conquered territory, which was secured to it by a marriage. Thus two foreign powers had established themselves in Italy; France in Milan, and Spain in Naples.

The French were defeated at Seminara, April 21st, and at Garigliano, Dec. 27th, 1503. The truce concluded March 31st, 1504, was followed by the cessation, put to all hostilities by the marriage of Ferdinand with Germaine de

Foix, neice of Louis XII. to whom he gave his claim on Naples as a dowry, in consideration of a million of ducats, Oct. 12th, 1505.

11. Italy thus remaining the common mark of European policy, its relations were rendered yet more complicated by the election of a new pope, when Julius II. obtained by bribery the papal chair. With a bolder but far more experienced hand, he grasped the machinery of European politics, and for ten years was able to guide it at his will. Seldom has the weaker party sported with the stronger, so boldly, so craftily, and so successfully. Peace could not in truth exist, while such a Pope ruled over Christendom.

1503.

The first project of Julius II. was to attach to the Roman see the state of Cesar Borgia, which had been falling to pieces of itself since the death of Alexander VI., Romagna, Bologna and Ferrara, of most of which however the Venitians had made themselves masters. The war that this caused gave rise to the second and greater project of driving from Italy all foreign powers and especially the French.

12. Quarrels were commenced with Venice respecting Romagna, which led to the plan of a great alliance, that could be brought to maturity but slowly on account of the internal occurrences in Spain, after the death of Isabella. The fruit of it was the league at Cambray, a secret alliance against Venice between Louis XII., Maximilian, Ferdinand Catholicus and the Pope. This combination, as unjust as it was absurd, was so easily effected, flattering as it did the passions and interest of all, that the Pope almost repented of it, since he could not be its prime agent. At least it was not his fault, if the Venetians would

1504.

1508.

not be warned. The proud republicans seemed not to know, that kings are rarely the friends of republics.

The league was made between Louis XII. and Maximilian I. Dec. 10th, 1508. The others afterwards acceded to it. Their object was the humiliation of the republic, and the conquest of its continental territory, which was divided in anticipation.

13. It was however the passionate quickness of the most powerful of the allies, rather than the greatness of the alliance, which menaced the overthrow of the republic; and the separation of the league would hardly have restrained the attack of Louis XII. Not her arms but her policy saved the republic. It was not difficult to dissolve a connexion, possessing so little internal cohesion.

The Venetians were defeated at Agnadello, April 15th, 1509, and lost all their territory on the continent, the Pope taking Romagna and laying his ban upon it. A quarrel sprang up between Louis and Maximilian; and after the reconquest of Padua, negotiations were entered upon, and a reconciliation confirmed between the republic and the Pope, who retained the cities in Romagna; Feb. 25th, 1510; Ferdinand also retained the harbors in Apulia.

14. But Julius II. who was well aware that former friends become the most bitter enemies, formed out of this dissolved alliance a second and yet greater one against France. Designed 1511. to protect the Roman see from encroachments, it received the appellation of the holy league; the total expulsion of the French from Italy was the wish of the Pope and Venetians; the conquest of the Spanish Navarre that of Ferdinand, by whom Henry VIII. of England was gained over. Even

Maximilian I. was rendered inactive at least by a truce with Venice; but the master stroke of the papal policy was, to engage the assistance of the Swiss; for without their co-operation, Milan could not be torn from France.

The Holy League was concluded Oct. 5th, 1511, between the Pope, Ferdinand Catholicus and Venice; a free accession was offered to the emperor and Henry VIII. The aid of the Swiss had been engaged in 1510.

15. The now ensuing contest, which the unsuccessful attempt of Louis, to assemble a council at Pisa for deposing the Pope, rendered truly a contest against the Hierarchy, would probably have been successfully sustained by France, had not the young Gaston de Foix terminated his heroic career in the battle at Ravenna. Attacked on all sides, driven from Milan by the Swiss, excommunicated by the Pope, Louis XII. would hardly have extricated himself from these difficulties, had not the death of the Pope come to his assistance.

1511.

Under Gaston de Foix, France had the superiority, till his death in the battle at Ravenna, Nov. 1511—April 11th, 1512. The Swiss entered Milan, May 1512, which they conferred on Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of Lewis Morus. Louis XII. renewed his attempts to reconquer it, but they were frustrated by the battle at Novara, June 6th, 1513. The consequence of the expulsion of the French from Italy was the return of the Medici (expelled 1495) to Florence, by means of the league and an insurrection, 31st Aug. 1512, with a power, which left nothing but the name of republic, remaining. About the same time, Ferdinand Catholicus conquered, 1512, the Spanish Navarre, as the allied state of France. Henry VIII. made an invasion into Artois, and

the Swiss into Burgundy, Aug. 1513. In the mean while, Pope Julius II. died Feb. 21st, 1513, and was succeeded by Leo X. of the house of Medici.

16. The league was dissolved by the reconciliation of the new Pope with France, so soon as Louis XII. rejected the council at Pisa.—Ferdinand was inclined to peace, as he was suffered to retain his booty—Navarre. Henry VIII. who depended on him as his son-in-law, was prevailed on by money and a marriage, and the Swiss were—duped. Thus there remained to France, of all its conquests, only its claims, which Louis XII. would perhaps have endeavored to establish, had he not been anticipated by death. 1515.

A compact was made with Leo X. Oct. 6th, 1513;—with Ferdinand of Aragon, Dec. 1st, 1513;—with the Swiss, deceived by false hostages, Sept. 13th, 1513, but this was soon after recalled by Louis XII;—and with Maximilian I. a truce respecting Milan, of which the new duke had been acknowledged by him. The peace purchased of England was confirmed by a marriage between Louis XII. and Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. Aug. 7th, 1514. But Louis died, Jan. 1, 1515.

17. Notwithstanding all the activity of this period, politics appear yet in their infancy. The perfidious craftiness of Ferdinand, the diversified and therefore inefficient activity of Maximilian, the blind lust of aggrandizement of Louis formed a web of intricacy and confusion. There was no great interest, no great character, to become the moving spring of politics. They were made subservient not to the permanent interest of the people, but to the momentary advantage of the rulers.

For this reason there were no strong alliances, but an incessant change. And how could any exist, where no attempt was made to conceal the desire of over-reaching one another?

18. Political economy seems indeed to have gained something by the good example of Louis XII. and his minister, Cardinal Amboise. But new and great ideas on this subject had not yet started up even in France; and the good example remained without imitators. It yet continued the sole object in public economy, to procure money for war; yet under Louis XII. with the least possible detriment to his subjects, (and this was a great point gained)—and even the discovery of the new world, and the hopes excited by it, limited still more the views to this object, rather than enlarged them.

19. The art of war too made less progress, than might have been expected; and so it must do, as long as good infantry could be hired only among the Swiss, or resort was had to German lancers. And among the princes of the age, there was no one illustrious as a great military genius.

II. *History of the Origin of Colonies, from* 1492—1515.*

1. The name of Colonies includes all possessions and establishments of Europeans in foreign parts of the world. They may be divided accord-

*Histoire des Etablissements des Européens dans les deux Indes: par M. l' Abbé Raynal. à Geneve. 1781. 10 voll. A work, equally abounding in sophistical declamation,

ing to their object and their organization into four different classes. These are: 1. agricultural colonies. Their object is the culture of land; the colonists become proprietors and are at home in their possessions; and, as they advance, finally grow into an independent nation. 2. Colonies for plantations. Their object is the raising of certain natural products for Europe. The colonists, though possessors of the soil, are less at home, and their number is usually so small, that they never can constitute a nation. In these slavery is especially common. 3. Mining colonies. Their object is the gain of metals. The colonists are established in them. They may be very extensive, but as mere mining colonies cannot be very populous. 4. Commercial colonies. Their object is commerce with the natural productions

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explanations, sometimes superficial, sometimes instructive, and highly important statistical accounts.

Les trois ages des Colonies, ou de leur état passé, présent et à venir: par M. de Pradt. 1801. 3 voll. The author defends the liberty of the colonies; but is also a political projector.

An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers, in 2 voll. By Henry Brougham. Edinburg. 1803. Much study of the subject; but too little practical knowledge.

A. Anderson's Historical and Chronological Deduction of Commerce from the earliest accounts to the present time. Lond. 1789, 4 Voll. 4to. Extends to 1789. An immensely rich collection of materials, chronologically arranged; chiefly with reference to the history of British commerce.

The best general historical view of the Colonies of the several nations is to be found in Eichhorn's Geschichte des neuern Europas, Vol. 5., which contains Asia, and Vol. 6., which contains Africa and America.

of the land or the sea (fisheries), and the manufactures of the native nations. They at first consisted of mere establishments, for commercial staples; but force and cunning enlarged them and made them conquering, although the chief purpose remained unchanged. The foreigners, though they are the masters, yet become landed proprietors in too small a degree, to make them domesticated.—Although several of these objects may be united in the same colony, yet one of them will always predominate, and determine the entire character.

2. Slow experience had to teach, what colonies of every kind can be for the mother country. Ignorant of their true value and the true method of benefitting by them, they aimed at absolute possession and the exclusion of all foreigners. The introduction of christianity furnished a pretext; and no one thought of inquiring into the justice or the expediency of the measure. From whence could other ideas have been acquired? But in this way the colonial system of the Europeans received in the beginning an unfortunate direction, which, to the injury of the mother countries and still more of the colonies, became inalterable. Yet from the first an essential difference in the manner of profiting by the colonies of the West and East Indies grew out of the different nature of the countries and their inhabitants.

3. But limited as was the sphere of vision, the consequences were incalculable. For *a.* the whole course and the whole regulation of the commerce of the world was changed, for having, till then, in its essential character necessarily been a com-

merce by land, it now became a commerce by sea. Therefore *b.* the geographic situation of countries influenced their importance for commerce according to a very different scale; for it lay in the nature of this change, that the western countries of Europe, instead of those on the Mediteranean, became the seats of universal commerce. It was also in fact the two most western nations, the Spaniards and Portuguese, which first took part in it. Yet the Spaniards in this period did but lay the foundation for their colonial system; the Portuguese on the contrary almost entirely completed theirs. But both founded their claims on the gifts of the Pope, as the general head, for the conversion of the heathen.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull, by which a meridian, 100 leagues (Leucae) west of the Azores was fixed as the line of division; which, however, by the treaty of Tordesillas 1494, confirmed by a bull 1506, was extended to 375 leagues from those islands, including the coasts of Brazil. It was a general principle, that the possession of the lands on the coast, embraced also that of the interior under the same degrees of latitude.

4. Of the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards in this period, the latter were limited to the islands of the Gulf of Mexico, of which, however, Hispaniola (St. Domingo) was by far the most important, on account of the gold mines in the Cibao mountains. As the new world did not at once offer other important productions, gold and silver, to the misery of the nation, were the only objects of pursuit.

America was discovered, first the island St. Salvador (Guanahaini), by Christopher Columbus, Oct. 11, 1492. On his three following voyages he discovered not only the West Indian islands, but also a part of the coasts of the continent. Besides Hispaniola, the chief establishment, the Spaniards attempted settlements on Cuba, Porto Rico and Jamaica 1508—1510; of the smaller no other note was taken, than to rob the natives. The discovery of the great ocean was made and possession taken, and accounts gained of Peru, by Bilboa 1513.—The gain which the Spanish government derived from the West Indies still remained inconsiderable; and the principles of their colonial administration were still unformed.*

5. With reference to the discoveries and settlements of the Portuguese in the East Indies, the manner of the discovery and the character of the lands discovered, created at once the most essential difference between the colonial affairs of Portugal and Spain. The gradual, methodical progress, which eventually led to the Indies, had already brought many ideas to maturity, by experience; and the character of the Indies did not in this case admit of any thoughts of mining colonies, but only of commercial ones. For this reason, notwithstanding the prevalence of the love of conquest and tyranny, no great immediate landed possessions were acquired, but establishments were made at the most eligible points, the princes of the country held in subjection, and a monopoly of commerce secured.

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* History of America by Robertson. London. 1777. 2 Voll. 4to. The beginning of Vol. 3, was published by his son 1796.

[A history of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus; by Washington Irving. 3 Voll. New York. 1828.]

Portuguese navigation, created by the wars with the Moors in Africa and promoted by Prince Henry, the Navigator, †1463, had begun to flourish since 1410. Madeira was discovered 1419. Cape Bojador was circumnavigated 1439, and Cape Verd 1446. The Azores were discovered 1448, the Cape Verd islands 1449, St. Thomas and Annobon 1471, Congo 1484. Of these the travels for discovery over land to Indies and Aethiopia by Covillam were a consequence. Barth. Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope 1486; and Vasco de Gama finally sailed round Africa and arrived at Mozambique 1498, under Emanuel the Great. He landed in Calicut and the first settlement was made in Cochin.—All the discoveries made in the name of the Portuguese beyond Cape Bojador had been already granted to the crown of Portugal, 1481, by a bull of Pope Sixtus IV.

6. The Portuguese dominion in India extended from the eastern coast of Africa to the peninsula Malacca and the Moluccas, and was maintained by a chain of forts and factories; favored very much by the division of those countries at that time into many small states, easy to be retained in subjection or excited against each other. But what rendered the establishment of such a dominion possible, was the high spirit of the first viceroys, and their great power as civil and military chiefs, of an Almeida and especially of the great Albuquerque. 1505 to 1509 † 1515.

The centre of their power, since 1510, was Goa, the residence of the viceroy. The other important places were Mozambique, Sofala and Melinda on the coasts of Africa, as early as 1508. Mascate and Ormus in the Persian Gulf, 1515. Diu and Daman in Decan, 1533; Cochin etc. on Malabar, which coast was entirely dependent on them; Negapatam and Meliapur on the coast of Coromandel; and Malacca founded 1511 on the peninsula of that name. In

the same year the discovery was made of the spice islands; and settlements on Ternate and Tidor were subsequently made.

7. Among the Portuguese, the commerce of the Indies was not indeed monopolized by a company, but it was indirectly monopolized by the crown. Although it was equally free to all Portuguese, the merchants had to obtain the permission of the government, which possessed the management as well as the protection of the navigation; and it besides reserved for itself some of the principal branches of commerce. In these forms there lay a germ of corruption, which could not fail soon to develope itself; but as long as Lisbon could be made the sole mart of Indian goods for Europe, the commerce was none the less lucrative.

The traffic of the Portuguese with the East Indies comprehended 1. the coasting trade in India. It was carried on exclusively between single principal marts; Malacca, for the farther side of India; Mascate for Arabia and Egypt; Ormus for the continent of Asia. The traffic between the gold and slave countries of Africa and the productive countries of India was important. Commerce was monopolized by the commanders in India. 2. The trade between Europe and India. The navigation was conducted only in fleets, sent by the government. The chief objects were; pepper and other spices, cotton and silk stuffs, pearls, and other light and manufactured wares. The form given to the commerce in Portugal, did not permit the wares to be circulated through Europe in private ships; foreign nations were obliged to come for them to Lisbon. Injurious consequences for Portuguese commerce ensued; and competition was awakened.*

* In the Asia de Joao de Barros and the continuations, Lisboa 1552; in the Histoire des conquêtes des Portugais

8. The East Indies, though not the only colony of the Portuguese, were the most important. Their possessions on the West Coast of Africa, as Congo, &c. first gained their importance by the slave trade at a later period; and although the coast of Brazil had already been discovered and occupied by Cabral, only a weak beginning at colonization was made by the transportation of Jews and convicts. 1500.

Second Period. From 1515 *to* 1556.

1. The following period is alike illustrious for sovereigns of greater talents, and events more grand and more fruitful in consequences. In Charles V. modern Europe for the first time saw a statesman upon the throne; not a man of tricks as in Ferdinand. Church and State were both embraced by his activity; and his policy was never without dignity, though not without selfishness. Spaniards and Germans, Dutch and Italians, named him their ruler; and the character of all

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par Lafitau. Paris. 1732, &c. the conquests of the Portuguese in India are described at large; but the history of their Indian Commerce was almost entirely deficient, even after the labors of Raynal and the 25th Vol. of the Allg. Welthistorie. The first successful attempt to supply the want is:

Geschichte des Portugiesischen Colonialwesens in Ostindien von Friedrich Saalfeld. Göttingen. 1810. With a careful reference to the authorities.

Soltau Geschichte der Entdeckungen und Eroberungen der Portugiesen im Orient nach de Barros. Th. I. II. 1821. The whole will be in five volumes.

seemed to be melted together in him. On the other hand Francis I. belonged to his own nation exclusively; which beheld in him the reflection of itself; and here lay the secret of his power, of which he himself was not conscious. Solyman, the Magnificent, had an influence in his own way; more by the sabre, than by negotiations; although he soon learned not to despise the latter. Whilst the relations of the leading states under such princes gain relative consistency, practical politics acquire more certain forms. This resulted 1. from the rising rivalship of France and Spain; 2. from the reformation; on account of its political tendency. The contests occasioned by the two, though contemporary, were yet entirely distinct; for Francis I. was no less than Charles V. the opposer of the reformation. They require therefore to be treated separately.

I. *History of the rivalship of France and Spain in this period.**

2. The rivalship of France and Spain did not by any means proceed directly from any fixed policy,

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* History of the Emperor Charles V. by Robertson; London. 1763. 3 Voll. In the German translation by Remer, Brunswick. 1792, the first part or introduction is written over, and the value of this, in every respect classical, work much increased.

Histoire de François Premier, roi de France par M. Gaillard. Paris. 1769. 7 Voll.

Mémoires de Mart. et Guill. Bellay Langey, mis en nouveau style etc. par Mr. l'Abbé Lambert. Paris. 1753. 7 Voll. They extend from 1513—1547. The edition in the original style is Paris, 1569. fol.

The Istoria d'Italia von Guicciardini, from the 15th book.

but from the circumstances and passions of the time; it introduced, however, political maxims, which led to the practical adoption of the system of the balance of power, and fixed the general character of that system. It was immediately a continuation of the Italian war; because the idea of a preponderance was more and more attached to the supremacy in that country. The attempt, successfully executed by Francis I. to tear Milan from the Swiss and Maximilian Sforza, laid the foundation of it, even before Charles the Fifth's accession to the throne.

Francis I. attacked Milan, having previously entered into an alliance with Venice, and a decisive battle was fought at Marignano, Sept. 13th, 1515. Duke Maximilian resigned his country for an annual sum of money; Genoa and the Pope gave their consent.—The treaty concluded soon after with the Swiss (the foundation of the subsequent permanent peace, Nov. 29th, 1516) appeared to guarantee the possession of Milan, and to confirm the influence of France in Italy.

3. Great changes were made in the situation of Europe by the death of Ferdinand I. With his eldest grandson, Charles V. (I.) master of the rich Netherlands, and future joint heir to Austria, the house of Habsburg acquired the possession of the whole Spanish monarchy. Thus the destiny of Europe was placed in the hands of two young men, of whom, the one was already a successful conqueror; and the other hoped to become so, more by his policy than arms. The treaty of Noyon, however, still maintained peace, till there arose a new collision of the two repugnant interests. 1516. Jan. 23d.

The treaty at Noyon was made Aug. 13, 1516. The only effect was to produce a delay, which rendered the war so

much the more inevitable, by means of the determinations respecting Navarre and Naples.

4. Both of these princes aspired to the imperial throne, after the death of Maximilian I. Charles V. having acquired it, the supremacy combined with it, over those states of Italy, which were fiefs of the empire and of which Milan was one, was well adapted to afford continual aliment to the mutual jealousy and hatred, which was springing up between the two.

1519. Jan. 12th.

If we would estimate the true value of the imperial throne at that time, we shall find it very great or very small, according to those who possessed it and knew how to use it; for what power might not be attached to the title, in a state like Germany and in an age, when struggles for aggrandizement, if not always methodically pursued, yet lay in the general tendency of politics? And who could define the proper limits of privilege between the emperor and the states, exclusive of the decisions of the Golden Bull and the new elective capitulation?

5. The union of the imperial crown and the crown of Spain on the same individual must have caused anxiety, not only on account of the extent but also of the geographical situation of the countries. With so many points of contact, between what states could disputes arise, to which Charles could be indifferent? And to what extremities might not such an interest impel such a power! The idea imputed to the house of Hapsburg, of an universal monarchy, in as far as this term is used to denote, not an immediate dominion, but only the supremacy in Europe, was so far from being an empty phantom, that on the contrary it naturally

sprang from the circumstances, in which the house was placed; and the struggle of Francis I., though in single cases generated by passion and petty causes, and subsequently directed at dominion in Italy, was, nevertheless, regarded from a higher point of view, a struggle for liberty and independence.

In forming an estimate of the actual power of the two princes, the following results present themselves. The power of Charles V. lost 1. by the difference of his relations in his different states; he was no where absolute, not even in Spain. 2. By the continual embarrassment of his finances, and irregularity in the payment of his troops, which for that reason could oftentimes hardly be called his own. On the other hand the concentrated power of France not only 1. stood at the unlimited will of the king, but also 2. became terrible by the formation of a national infantry instead of mercenary troops. It was much lessened however by the circumstance 3. that Francis I. did not pursue the public economy of his predecessor.

6. The first war between Francis I. and Charles V. was begun by Francis I. and terminated unsuccessfully for him by the defeat at Pavia and the capture of the king; but nevertheless, Charles V. was unable to execute his attempts to effect a dismemberment of France either by the plot of Charles of Bourbon, or his own claims to Burgundy. 1521 to 1526.

The pretexts alleged by the two parties for the wars were: 1. France demanded the restoration of the Spanish Navarre; 2. renewed its claims to Naples; 3. espoused the cause of Rob. von der Mark. in a feudal quarrel.—On the side of Charles; 1. his claims to Milan, as a fief of the German empire, 2. to the dukedom of Burgundy, which

had been taken by Louis XI.—The alliances of the two parties were as follows. Charles drew into his interest Henry of England and the Pope. Francis, in alliance with Venice, renewed the treaty with the Swiss, May 5th, 1521, in which he obtains the right of freely levying troops. A battle was fought at Bicocca, April 22d, 1522, and the French were completely expelled from Italy under Lautrec, and 1523, the favorite Bonnivet. Milan as the fief of Charles was given, at least in name, to Francis Sforza, younger son of Lewis Morus, (†1531).—The imperialists made an unsuccessful attack upon Provence, Jul.—Sept. 1524. Francis I. crosses the Alps in person. Pavia was besieged and the battle occurred there Feb. 24th, 1525. The king was defeated, taken captive and carried to Madrid.

7. The victory of Pavia appeared to make Charles the master of Italy and arbiter of Europe; and yet he did not become even the first. The internal relations of his army, far more than the awakening jealousy of England and the Italian states, prevented the accomplishment of all his great plans; and in the treaty of peace at Madrid, he extorted from Francis I. nothing but promises, against which the latter had previously protested in secret.

The treaty at Madrid, was made Jan. 14th, 1526. Conditions; 1. France renounces all claims to Italy, and 2. the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois. 3. resigns the dukedom of Burgundy to Charles. 4. Francis yields his two eldest sons as hostages; and marries Eleonora, the sister of the emperor.

8. A second war between these two princes was thence inevitable. Its theatre was in Italy, and chiefly in Naples. But its progress was unfortunate for Francis, notwithstanding his connexions with England and in Italy, for in the

1527 to 1529.

peace of Cambrais, after the total loss of Italy and his perfidy towards his allies there, he was obliged to be satisfied with the promise of Charles not as yet to enforce his claims on Burgundy.

A secret treaty was concluded at Cognac, May 22d, 1526, between Francis I. the Pope, Venice and the duke of Milan. Henry VIII. also was induced to join it by great promises.—A feud arose between the emperor and Pope. Rome was taken and sacked in the most terrible manner, without the knowledge of the emperor, and to the vexation of the Christian world, by the emperor's army under Charles of Bourbon, May 6th, 1527. The Pope was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and forced to capitulate. The release of the Pope afforded a pretence, not only for uniting the allies in closer bonds, but also of sending a French army under Lautrec to Naples to satisfy the claims of France on Naples. An unsuccessful attempt was made to besiege Naples, frustrated by the plague and Dorias' desertion; April to Aug. 1528. Negotiations were commenced and a truce proclaimed, June 15th, 1528, and a peace at Cambray was made Aug. 5th, 1529, to which Henry VIII. acceded, Clemens VII. having insured his own safety by a separate peace, June 20th. The peace extended to Burgundy, and the ransom of the French princes on the same conditions as in the treaty of Madrid.

9. If the power of the emperor in Italy was extended by this war, and was yet more confirmed by his meeting with the Pope and his coronation at Bologna, its consequences as far as respects this country were two; *a.* Florence was changed into a hereditary dukedom, and *b.* Genoa obtained its subsequent constitution. 1530. Feb. 24th.

The change in Florence was a consequence of the treaty between the emperor and the Pope, by which the Medici, expelled by means of an insurrection in the war against

Rome 1527, were again restored, and Alexander of Medici, related by blood to the Pope, was declared hereditary duke. —The revolution in Genoa was the work of Alexander Doria, who changed from the French to the imperial side ; and gave greater strength to its independence and new constitution, by the introduction of a strict family aristocracy.

10. But while the two leading powers in the south west of Europe were trying each other's strength, the east became involved in this contest; for the wild plans of conquest of Solyman II. which at first menaced all christendom, at last issued in an alliance with France, which seemed the more advantageous for this kingdom, since the house of Hapsburg, after the defeat and death of Louis II. king of Hungary at Mohatsch, had enforced its claims to Hungary and Bohemia.

A change had taken place under Solyman II. from 1519, in the Turkish system of conquest, which under his predecessor Selim I. was directed against Persia and Egypt. After the conquest of Belgrade 1521, a grand attack was made on Hungary; Louis II. was defeated and slain at Mohatsch, 29th of Aug. 1526. The contested election of king, between Ferdinand and John Zapolya, facilitated the advances of Solyman, as the latter candidate had recourse to his protection. Hungary was taken and Vienna unsuccessfully besieged 1529 ; on the other hand Moldavia was subjected.—The alliance, which was now silently formed with France gives some proof of a more free insight into politics, on the part of the Turks, whatever well founded anxiety this scandal in christendom must have then excited.

11. But the naval force of the Port threatened to become still more dangerous to the west of Europe, than its land forces. When the conquest of Rhodes gave it the dominion of the Mediterranean sea, there seemed but little security to the coasts

of Italy and Spain. And to that security total destruction was threatened by the piratical states, then forming under the protection of the Port on the African coasts, against which Malta, that had been granted to the Rhodians, was but a weak bulwark.

The island Rhodes, belonging to the knights of St. John, was conquered by the Turks, after an obstinate resistance 1522. The order received 1530, from Charles V. the island rock of Malta, belonging to Naples, as fief of this kingdom; with the obligation of warring against the unbelievers. —The dominion of the Port on the northern coasts of Africa, (which had formerly been, partly under Arabian, partly under Spanish power) was founded by the conquests of the pirates Horuc and Hayraddin (the Barbarossas.) The first made himself master of Algiers 1517, and was succeeded by his brother Hayraddin 1518, who made a voluntary subjection to the Port, was appointed captain in chief of its naval force and takes Tunis 1531. Although the latter was torn from him 1535 by the expedition of Charles V. the power of the pirate was by no means thus annihilated, or even weakened to any considerable degree; since Tripolis was conquered 1551 by another pirate Dragut, and Tunis itself retaken.—Egypt having been subdued 1517, the Port was sovereign of the whole coast of N. Africa.

12. The causes of the third war between Charles and Francis lay in the conditions of the peace at Cambray, for Francis was never able to recover from his chagrin at the loss of Italy and especially Milan. Although his exertions to procure allies were generally useless, he resolved on war. The execution of Maraviglia in Milan gave him a pretence, and the extinction of the house of Sforza, which ensued soon after, supplied him with new claims and hopes. 1535 to 1538.

Vain endeavors were tried by the king to gain the co-operation of Henry VIII. and the protestants in Germany. He became connected with Clemens VII. by means of the marriage of the niece of the latter, Catharine de Medici with the second son of king Henry, duke of Orleans. But by the death of Clemens VII. which occurred soon after, (Nov. 26th, 1534), the expected consequences of this marriage, pregnant nevertheless with mighty consequences, were frustrated. The alliance with the Port, brought to maturity by Laforest 1535, under the form of a commercial treaty, (Feb.) was now made public.

13. Italy was generally though not exclusively the theatre of this war. The capture of Piedmont and Savoy by Francis did not impede Charles' making an invasion into the south of France, which was frustrated by the wise measures of the king. Neither the ensuing contest in Piedmont nor Picardy were decisive; but the formidable advances of Solyman in Hungary accelerated the truce at Nice, formed under the mediation of Paul III. without the knowledge or consent of Soliman.

The conquest of Savoy 1535 (just at the time, when Charles was returning as conqueror from Tunis,) must have doubly exasperated the emperor, since its duke, Charles III. was his brother in law and ally.—Francis Sforza, the last duke of this house, died Oct. 24th, 1535, by which Milan was rendered again a fief of the empire, which Francis desired for his son, the duke of Orleans. Provence was invaded by the emperor Aug. 1536, but his plans were defeated by the defensive war under Francis and Montmorency.—Solyman invaded Hungary and gained a victory at Essec 1537, while his fleets pillaged the coasts of Italy.—A meeting was concerted between the emperor, the king and Pope at Nice, and a truce of ten years agreed to, June 18th, 1528. Conditions: each party retains its possessions; (France al-

most all of Piedmont and Savoy;) and the claims of both sides were to be farther investigated by the Pope.—The enfeoffment of Milan remained therefore undecided, though the king had entertained some hopes for his youngest son.

14. It is not therefore astonishing, that notwithstanding the apparent confidence of the two monarchs, the truce of ten years was of but four years duration. The train continued to burn; and the hatred was rendered more bitter by the manner in which Francis, long held back, finally saw himself disappointed in his expectations. But his connexions were broken off both with England and the Pope; and Charles, on his side, was sufficiently occupied by the religious contentions and the Turkish war, to maintain for some years a truce, to which moreover his finances compelled him.

The quarrels with the Turks respected 1. Hungary. In consequencc of a compact between Ferdinand and the childless John Zapolya, 24th of Feb. 1538, the former was to inherit of the latter his half of Hungary. But a few days before his death (July 27th, 1540) Zapolya had a son, whom he declared his heir. Soliman took him under his protection, and after a victory over the Germans, put him in possession of the capital Ofen, and almost all Hungary. 2. The African piratical states, especially Algiers. The second African expedition of the emperor 1541 was totally frustrated by a terrible storm, shortly after his landing.

15. The refusal to enfeoff France with Milan impelled the king to resolve on a fourth war, which was brought to a rupture by the murder of his ambassador in that city. It was of a greater magnitude than any of the preceding, for the king not only succeeded in renewing his alliances with the Sultan and Venice, but also in

1542 to 1544.

engaging on his side the duke of Cleve, Denmark and even Sweden, although the alliance with the two latter was without any results. On the other hand the emperor persuaded the king of England to a confederacy and a common invasion of France; and yet when the war was terminated by the peace of Crespy, no one of the parties obtained by it the ends which it had proposed.

The two plenipotentiaries of Francis I. to Venice and the Port were murdered in Milan July 3d, 1541. The French plan of the war was changed to defensive measures in Italy and aggressive in the Netherlands and Roussillon, with several armies, 1542 and 1543, without permanent advantages. Charles and Henry VIII., (who had been offended by the family connexion between France and Scotland,) formed an alliance Feb. 11th, 1543, with the intention of invading France and dividing the kingdom; the duke of Cleve being mean time reduced to subjection.—Francis renewed his league with Solyman 1543; the residue of Hungary was conquered and Austria attacked; while the united Turkish and French fleets bombard Nice. Contemporary with these occurrences was the invasion of France by the emperor (in spite of the victory of the French at Cerisoles, April 14th, 1544) by way of Lorraine, and by the king of England, by way of Calais, June to Sept. 1544. But the whole scheme was overthrown by the discord arising between them; by the judicious position of the French army, by the intrigues at court, and the relations of the emperor in Germany, of which a separate peace with Charles at Crespy Sept. 18th, 1544, was the consequence, under the conditions, 1. that the duke of Orleans, should marry a princess of the imperial family and obtain Milan. (The accomplishment of this article was shortly after prevented by the death of the young duke, Sept. 8th, 1545, when Charles V. conferred it on his own son Philip.) 2. Francis disclaims his pretensions to Naples and

the feodality of Flanders and Artois, Charles on the other hand, renounces Burgundy. The war continued with the embittered Henry VIII. after the conquest of Boulogne 1546.

16. The peace of Crespy terminated the series of wars between the two rivals; for Charles V. was soon too deeply occupied with his ambitious schemes in Germany, and death soon placed a period to the projects both of Francis I. and Henry VIII. Under his son and successor Henry II. when many changes had taken place in France, the differences with the emperor still continued, but the war, which he still carried on with Charles V., originated in the affairs of Germany and belongs therefore to the following section.

Henry VIII. died Jan. 28th, and Francis I. March 21st, 1547.

17. The consequences of this contest were equally important for France herself, and the political system of Europe. By it *a.* the system of the balance of power was practically established in its leading principles; for the two chief powers of the continent now constituted the equipoise. *b.* By the alliance of France with the Port, the relations in Hungary and the participation of England in those wars, though that participation had not been productive of any great results, the whole south of Europe was brought into closer contact, than it had ever before been. *c.* Though France failed of obtaining its object, the dominion of Italy, it prevented its own dismemberment and thus preserved its independence. *d.* The projects of Charles V. were therefore but half accomplished,

for though he acquired the ascendancy in Italy and Germany, he did not that of France.

Was the loss of the predominance in Italy truly a loss for France? She needed indeed a certain influence there *a.* on account of the relations of her hierarchy to the Pope, *b.* for the security of her S. E. frontiers from the duke of Savoy. But did this require possessions of territory and dominion? Have these generally been to the advantage of the foreign nations, who possessed them, even though they may have been to the advantage of the rulers?

II. *History of the Reformation in a political view; from its beginning to the religious peace. From* 1517 *to* 1555.*

1. The reformation acquired its immense influence in general from the circumstance, that it roused up an interest, which was not merely the interest of the rulers, but also of the people. Without this, its commotions could never have been, at the same time, so general and so lasting. The connexion of religion and politics was inevitable, because the attacks of its authors were levelled not merely against doctrines, but also against a hierarchy, which entered most deeply into the existing, political administrations and constitutions.

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* Joannis Sleidani de statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo V. Caesare commentarii 1555. The latest edition (enriched with notes) of this work, equally classical in form and materials is that of Frankfurt. 1785. 3 Voll. 8vo.

Geschichte des protestanteschen Lehrbegriffs von Dr. G. J. Planck. Leipzig. 1789. To this branch of the subject belong the three first volumes, which comprehend at the same time the political history till the religious peace.

Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation von J. M. Schröckh. 1804. 8 parts. To political history be-

The reformation, regarded as an immediate attack on the supremacy of the Pope, was levelled against an edifice, which was already shattered and undermined, but still standing; undermined, because the support, on which it properly rested, public opinion, was undergoing changes; shattered by the last wars in Italy, and previously by the confirmation of the supreme authority of the councils. The question, whether without the reformation, the papal power would have fallen, does not lie within the province of history; but granting the affirmative, without it the human mind would not have received that mighty impulse, which the reformation communicated to it; and from this sprang its most important as well as its most beneficial consequences.

2. As the reformation first originated and spread itself in Germany, so too it there first acquired a political character, when its cause was espoused by German princes and governments. The points, on which the political history of the reformation depends, are the following: *a.* How and why did the princes take this course, and which of them did so? *b.* How and to what extent did these unite into a party, forming an opposition to the emperor? *c.* What were the views of the emperor in counter-

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long especially the two first parts, the former of which contains the history of the German reformation till the religious peace, the latter that of other countries.

Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland von C. L. Woltmann. 3 Voll. 8 vo. 1801. The history is continued till 1553.

Essai sur l' Esprit, et l' influence de la réformation de Luther par Ch. Villers. 3 éme Ed. Paris. 1808. This is the most eloquent and comprehensive analysis of the important subject.

Entwickelung der politischen Folgen der Reformation für Europa; is contained in the first part of Heeren's miscellaneous historical writings: (Historische Werke, Vol. I.)

acting them, and what his steps?—It is evident that these questions cannot be answered without a general acquaintance with the political condition of Germany at that time.

The great, specific difference between Germany, as it then was, and what it was afterwards, consisted in the entirely different relations of the power of the cities to the power of the princes. *a.* The number of the cities, which were wholly or partially free, being so much greater in the south and north of Germany; *b.* their internal riches and consequently their political influence being so much more considerable, while *c.* this influence was much increased by their confederacies, not only by that of the Hanse, in the north, but still more by the Suabian league in the south. And *d.* their militia and mercenaries being of higher importance, so long as there existed no standing armies. On the other hand the power of the princes was therefore not only less, but was threatened with a further diminution, by the divisions, which were yet customary. The most important electoral or princely houses at the commencement of the reformation, were:

a. The Saxon. This house was divided into the older electoral or Ernestine line, and the younger ducal or Albertine. The former under the elector, Frederic the Wise, (†1525) possessed the electoral circle, with Wittenberg as the residence; almost the whole of the landgraviate Thuringia, and some other territories. The latter under duke George (†1539), the opponent of Luther, possessed the landgraviate Meissen and a portion of Thuringia.

b. The Brandenburg. The electoral line under the prince elector Joachim I. (†1535) possessed the margraviate Brandenburg, and some smaller principalities. The margraviate of Franconia was again divided between the lines of Culmbach and Anspach.

c. The Palatine, (or the elder Wittelsbachian,) was divided into the electoral line under Lewis V. (†1544), to which belonged the electorate on the Rhine; and the Simmern,

which was again divided into those of Simmern and Deuxponts, and the latter again into those of Deuxponts and Veldenz.

d. The Bavarian; (or the younger Wittelsbachian line). Notwithstanding the right of primogeniture, introduced 1508, Bavaria was divided between duke William VI. (†1550) and his brother Lewis; but was reunited after the death of the latter, and has remained so since.

e. That of Brunswick; it was then divided into two principal branches; that of Lunenburg, which possessed Lunenburg and Celle; its head had been from 1520, duke Ernst, (ancestor of the two new lines; †1546) with the collateral lines of Harburg and Gifhorn; and that of Brunswick or Wolfenbüttel, divided into two lines, the one of which under duke Henry the Younger, the enemy of the reformation (†1568) possessed Wolfenbüttel, the other under duke Erich I. (†1540) possessed Calenberg with Göttingen. And besides, a branch of the ancient house of Brunswick still remained in Grubenhagen.

The Hessian. This house was undivided under Philip Magnanimus (†1567,) and therefore one of the most powerful.

That of Mecklenburg, was likewise undivided under Henry the Peaceful (†1552), and Albert (†1547).

That of Wirtemberg, which was raised in 1495 from the dignity of a county to a ducal rank. It was indeed undivided; but the unquiet duke Ulrich, driven from his territories by the Suabian league 1519, was first restored 1534 by the compact of Cadan.

That of Baden, as yet undivided under the margrave Christopher; was in 1527 divided into the lines of Baden and Durlach.

Among the more powerful houses, now totally extinct, was the ducal house of Pomerania, undivided under Bogislaus, till 1523 when it was divided into Wolgast and Stettin. The house of Cleve, to which belonged Julius, Berg, and

Ravensberg, was still undivided under John III. (†1539.) Even in those countries that were undivided, it was of great consequence, whether there were brothers or near kinsmen, whose relation to the ruling lords was not then by any means so firmly fixed as in later times.

3. By the summons and appearance of Luther before the diet at Worms, his cause became a state from a church affair, as it had already become the affair of the people. And here too it was, that, by the declaration of outlawry against him on the side of the emperor, and the unconcealed approbation of the rulers of his native country and other princes, the seed of a future dissension in the empire was disseminated.

1521. April 18th.

The causes, why the emperor declared himself against Luther, were certainly political rather than religious. They did not lie in comprehensive plans for the future, but in his relation as defender of the church, and in the need of the friendship of the Pope. And from its origin, the political side of the reformation remained the most important for him; though the idea of improving it to his own advantage was but gradually developed; the more so, since he was prevented by the two first wars, which now arose with France. —Luther and his adherents were outlawed by the edict of Worms, May 26th, by which the emperor gave a pledge as to his future conduct.

4. But while, during the succeeding years, the new tenets, rapidly spreading and decisively victorious in several countries of Germany, especially Saxony and Hesse, produced a fermentation of ideas, such as had never been known, and which was now supported by the aid of printing, there were two events, which determined its polit-

1526.

ical importance in eyes of the governments, the war of the peasantry, and the secularization of Prussia.

The war of the peasantry, having arisen in Suabia, 1524, spread itself to Thuringia, where it was kindled by Thomas Münzer, but terminated by the battle at Frankenhausen, May 15th, 1525.—The question, how far the reformation actually contributed towards producing this insurrection, is by no means so important for general history, as how far it seemed to contribute to it? For the consequence depends on this appearance: And how could that appearance have been avoided?*

5. The secularization of Prussia, which belonged to the German order, gave an example which other princes could imitate. Though the apprehensions were great, which were produced by the confiscation of the property of the church, applied by the princes of Germany almost exclusively to noble purposes, with the greatest disinterestedness, how much greater must have been those, excited in Rome by the loss of a whole country?

The grand master, Albert of Brandenburg, declared himself hereditary duke of Prussia, as the vassal, however, of Poland, 1525.

6. These occurrences, besides the threatening intimations of the emperor, who had grown so overbearing since the victory of Pavia, led to the first combinations on both sides, of several catholic orders at Dessau, and the most powerful protestant orders at Torgau. According to the intention of the founders, the alliance was to be merely defensive, and never to adopt aggressive measures. But notwithstanding all the intermediate events tend-

* Versuch einer Geschichte des Deutschen Bauernkriegs, von G. Sartorius. Berlin. 1795.

ing to preserve peace, this could hardly have continued, had there not been found, in the idea of a general council, a supposed means of allaying the strife, a means which was indeed nothing but a palliative, but as such was highly beneficial.

The persisting of the emperor in the execution of the edict of Worms could not but prolong disunion. An association was concluded at Dessau, May 1525, between the electorate of Mentz, Brandenburg, etc. and of the evangelical party at Torgau, May 12th, 1526, at first between Hesse and the electorate of Saxony, which the other states joined. —No one, who knows the course of human events, will wonder that these associations were but fluctuating; although the new party acquired more life from the violent Philip of Hesse; and, frightened by an alarm, groundless perhaps, excited by Dr. Pack, the chancellor of George, duke of Saxony, gave a proof that its partizans knew how to act 1528. But how could they have proceeded in the diets with the emperor, had they not, since the diet at Spire 1526, been able to play with the prospect of a free council?

7. After the two next diets, that at Spire, which gave the new party its name, and that at Augsburg, which proved to it, after the exposition of its creed, that no compromise of doctrines was to be produced by explanation. This delay of the decision notwithstanding the menace of the emperor, and the new confederation of the protestants at Smalcalde, but repeatedly seconded by the threatening danger of the Turks, brought about a peace between the two parties, which was to secure to them their condition at the time till a council.

A diet was held at Spire 1529, against whose decision, prohibiting the farther diffusion of the new doctrines, the farther rush of the swelling torrent, the evangelical party

protested April 19th, and were hence called Protestants.— A diet was assembled at Augsburg, and the confession of Augsburg submitted to its consideration June 25th, 1530.— The limit set them by the emperor could have no other effect than a coalition, like that of Smalcalde, Feb. 27th 1531; for which the election of Frederic as king of the Romans was a new motive. Negotiations were however renewed and the interim-peace of Nuremberg concluded July 23d, 1532. To the members only of the league of Smalcalde at that time, did it insure peace till the council.

8. Notwithstanding this peace, the sword would probably have soon been unsheathed, had it not been prevented both by the internal relations of the parties and a series of intermediate occurrences. Did not the peace itself contain the germ of future war? But who should attack the allies? The emperor? Or the catholic states? Or both? —The danger from the Turks having been averted (see p. 47), the reinstatement of Ulrich, duke of Wirtemberg, the war of the anabaptists in Münster, and the expedition of the emperor against Tunis, (see p. 45) served at first to allay the ferment, till the third war with Francis I., who had sought in vain to draw the allies of Smalcalde into his interest, but had thus compelled Charles to spare them, was naturally followed by a new delay. 1535 to 1538.

If the forcible reinstatement of duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, by Philip of Hesse 1534, rendered the animosity more intense, it not only on the other hand strengthened the protestant party, to which Ulrich belonged, but also gave it consequence. The kingdom of the anabaptists in Münster, 1534, under John of Leiden, which lasted till the conquest of the city June 24th, 1535, presents a phenome-

non, as curious in a psychological as in a political view.—The league of Smalcalde was renewed and enlarged for ten years, July 10th, 1536. The fixing of the contingency of troops now gave it a more stable form and a more threatening aspect.

9. Even after the restoration of peace with France, various embarrassments and other projects of the emperor, satisfactorily show, why he could not break out, even if that had been his wish; much less the allies, who desired to act altogether on the defensive. But the dissension must have been increased, not only by several unimportant intermediate events; but also, because the former palliative measure of peace became more dubious by the actual attempts made to convene a council, which, however, would not be able to give satisfaction to the emperor, much less to the protestants; and the continual complaints of the protestant orders at the partiality of the imperial chamber of justice, was a never failing source of rancor.

1538.

Pope Paul III. had been attempting since 1536 to convoke a council according to his own views, in some city of Italy. The result of his exertions was, that in the person of the vice chancellor Held, the ambassador of the emperor, and the first mover of the sacred league at Nuremberg, June 10th, 1538, the man was sent to Germany, who cordially contributed towards kindling the fire.—Henry, duke of Brunswick, was attacked by the allies 1540 and expelled from his country, 1542.—The attempts of the elector Herman at Cologne to introduce the reformation, terminated in his deposition, 1543.

10. There was therefore a concurrence of causes, by which the enmity of both parties was fos-

tered, and yet, notwithstanding single eruptions, a general war was prevented. The most difficult of all questions, what political projects were matured in the breast of Charles by these religious disputes, and how they were matured, has been answered so variously by the greatest historians, that we must either pronounce the emperor the deepest politician of all times, or attribute this uncertainty in him to the want of a fixed plan; and this last opinion may be the most probable. The German policy of Charles V. proceeded from his conceptions of the imperial power. As these were vague, his plans must have been so; and we judge most incorrectly, if we regard the intimations, which sometimes escaped him, even although official, as proofs of any settled design. Not till the league of Smalcalde stood against him as an armed opposition, did his ideas acquire a firm stay; for this appeared to him rebellion. But how long had it existed, before it properly formed such an opposition? —A total overthrow of the German constitution was an idea, so foreign to the spirit of the whole age that it could hardly have been definitely formed;— such ideas ripen only in the times of written constitutions. And had it been formed, how could it have been executed? Where were the means? Never was the German nation less ripe for subjection; those were still the times, when the sword was wielded by citizens, and standing armies could impose no fetters.

The peace was still preserved by several intermediate occurrences, by the campaign of Charles against Algiers 1541, and the fourth war with Francis I. immediately ensuing,

1542—1544; subsequently, by the decision of the diet at Ratisbon, July 29th, 1541, and no less by the invasion, threatened anew from the Turks.

11. The war finally broke out, as the allies 1546. were isolated by the peace of Crespy, and the refusal to recognize the authority of the council assembled at Trent, left no other resource. But the war was directed not against the heretical sect, as the Pope desired to direct it, and believed he had succeeded in his treaty with Charles—but against the members of the Smalcalde league, as transgressors against the imperial authority. But unfortunately this league pined under all the evils, to which a league is liable; and even before the battle of Muhlberg threw one of the leaders into captivity, and treachery at Halle the other, the ruin of the league could have been predicted with much probability.

The council, that had been convoked at Trent in 1542, finally opened Dec. 13th 1545, of which the form and first decisions were such, as could not be adopted by the protestants.—The war had broken out since the diet of Ratisbon, July 1546. The two leaders were outlawed, July 20th. The campaign this year was altogether destitute of plan; and the league was eventually dissolved.—John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner in the battle of Muhlberg, April 24th, 1547. The electorate was bestowed on duke Maurice of Saxony.—Philip, landgrave of Hesse, was treacherously made prisoner at Halle, June 19th.

12. After the entire dissolution of the league, it stood in the emperor's pleasure, what use he should make of it. But he was not now occupied with projects of conquest, but of union, i. e. according to the spirit of those times, of councils; and

was not the *interim*, by which the theologians ruined his cause, in itself a necessary measure? One plan only, the fruit of approaching old age, seems to have started up in him,—to transmit the two crowns, which he wore, to his son. The little prospect of rendering the imperial dignity hereditary, was so remote, that it could hardly be his immediate motive; it was probably the conviction, that the power of the house depended on this union. A favorable issue,—for what would have become of Germany under Philip II.?—frustrated this impolitic project; but for no fault did Charles ever suffer so severely; since it hastened the most formidable crisis of his whole reign.

A diet was held at Augsburg, and the *interim* was published as the rule, till the future decision of the council, May 15th, 1548. Great commotions were excited, which showed perhaps more than any others, the resolute spirit of the nation. Those were still the times, when a single city like Magdeburg could brave the entire power of the emperor.

13. However little Charles desired the annihilation of the German constitution, still the states were not exactly of his opinion, with respect to the imperial authority. They would, nevertheless, have complied with him, had there not been one among them, whom Charles, after a long acquaintance, knew but too imperfectly, because he was able to calculate accurately enough the force of policy, but not of character. The bold plan of Maurice, suggested by the scenes at Halle, proceeded immediately from character; but although his heart urged him on, he submitted to the guidance of his understanding. Had the result been less glorious,

history could never have failed to recognize in him the man, who raised himself above his age. One stroke of his sword procured for Germany, what all the councils could never have done. But his treaty with France showed to this power, how it might improve to its own advantage, the schisms existing between the head and members of the empire. If it was the interest of France to maintain the liberties of Germany, it was not found inconsistent with this interest, to aggrandize itself at the expense of the empire.

The plan of the elector was to compel the emperor, by a surprise, to establish on a secure basis the condition of religion, and restore to liberty his father in law, Philip. This was prepared by the commission given him, to enforce the law pronounced against the proud Magdeburg. The city was besieged and capitulated Nov. 5th, 1551. A secret treaty was concluded with Henry II. of France at Friedewalde, Oct. 5th, 1551. The war broke out and was carried on with spirit, from March till July 1552, by which the council of Trent was broken up. The emperor found himself compelled to concede to the treaty of Passau, Aug. 2d, 1552, under the following conditions. 1. The captive princes shall be restored to liberty, and Philip of Hesse reinstated. 2. Perfect religious freedom shall be granted to the protestants, both on the part of the emperor and the Catholic states. 3. A diet shall be held within six months to confirm these conditions, without the power, however, of derogating aught from them. Though the treaty of Passan contained nothing but preliminaries, a definite peace was secured by it beforehand; but the author of that treaty was not destined to survive till the peace. He died the ensuing year in a battle with the disturber of the public peace, Margrave Albert of Culmbach, at Sievershausen, July 9, 1553.

14. But Maurice, having concluded the treaty of Passau without his ally Henry II. who had in the mean time invaded Lorraine, France continued the war and terminated it, Charles being impelled by the impulses of his hatred rather than prudence, at the cost of the German empire, of which he declared himself the protector.

Henry II. invaded Lorraine and invested Metz, Toul, and Verdun in April 1552. Charles entered the field in autumn 1552, and besieged Metz without success, which was defended by Francis of Guise. The war raged in the two next years both on the frontiers of the Low countries and Italy, (where Sienna put itself under the protection of the French, but was at last compelled to surrender to the emperor April 21, 1555,) without any great battles, though on the whole successfully for France, till the five years' truce of Vaucelles, Feb. 5th, 1555, ensured to France its conquests in Lorraine and Piedmont.

15. This war, together with other obstacles, had prevented the holding of the diet for ratifying the religious peace. It was finally convened at Augsburg. After a discussion of six months,—it was felt that Maurice was no longer living— the final peace of religion was established, securing quiet to both parties and giving to the possessors all the ecclesiastical revenues, confiscated before the treaty of Passau; but there was left the leaven of future contention, in the limitation of these privileges to those who had approved of the confession of Augsburg, and in the *reservatum ecclesiasticum.* 1555 Sept. 21.

The *reservatum ecclesiasticum* respected the question, whether the future freedom of religion should be extended only to the secular orders or also to the ecclesiastical? To

the latter the protestants would take no refusal; but the catholics neither would nor could grant it.

16. After this peace, Charles V. executes the project, long since formed, and matured by the uncertainty of fortune and the decline of health, of resigning his crowns, without being able to realize his favorite idea of their permanent union. They were now separated, the Spanish with the dominion of the Low countries, falling to his son Philip, and the imperial throne being filled by his brother Ferdinand I. king of the Romans.

The Netherlands and the Spanish monarchy were given up to Philip II. at Brussels, the former Oct. 25th, 1555, the latter Jan. 16th, 1556. He resigned the imperial crown, Aug. 27th, 1556.—Charles died at St. Justus in Valladolid, whither he had retired, Sept. 21st, 1558.

17. At the end of this period the reformation attained, on the whole, the extent, which it was to preserve. The new doctrines, not a religion of the imagination, but of the understanding, found a much easier access among the nations of the north than of the south, for here, the popular character had more influence than the measures of government. The political consequences, therefore, were no longer confined to Germany alone, but had spread over a great portion of Europe. Important, however, as was its influence on the internal condition of each of these countries for the present and future, it could not yet become the moving spring of general politics, for the two leading rival powers of the continent co-operated in their endeavors to suppress it. The effects, which necessarily followed, were *a.* in protestant as in catholic

states, religion was made in a greater degree the basis of the constitution; and *b.* in the protestant states by the removal of all subordination to Rome, and in some by the confiscation of the property of the church, the power of the princes was increased.—But what were these consequences, in comparison with the more remote, that might be expected from the new impulse, which it had given to the human mind.

18. For the German empire, it already was, and was to remain a principle of dissension, but also of political life. It had produced in it indeed no political revolution, properly speaking;—this was not to be feared so long as religious ideas stood in the foreground and political in the rear;—but it had compelled the princes to exertions, which first taught them to feel as princes; and their energy once roused, could not expire, while the dissensions continued. But now that the reformation began to be the soul of politics, the German empire must be considered far more than formerly, the true centre of the European political system, because the existence of the protestant religion in that empire, was regarded as decisive for the rest of Europe.

At the end of this period the protestant doctrines were prevalent throughout Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Hesse, Meclenburg, Holstein and some smaller states in the north; in the Palatinate, in Baden and Wirtemberg in the south; as well as in most of the important cities of the empire.—The melancholy schism that had arisen in 1525 respecting the Lord's supper, between the protestants them-

selves, could be of no great political importance, so long as none of the more powerful states of the empire, professed the reformed tenets.

19. In other countries than Germany, the new doctrines were already prevalent in the kingdoms of the north, and in the greater part of Switzerland and Geneva; in England the contest was not yet decided; in France and the Netherlands, as also in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, they found access without affording any ground to calculate their future influence. But wherever they became prevalent, it was not without important modifications not only in the doctrines, but also in the external forms of the church.

In England a rupture with the Roman see, but not with the old doctrines, took place under Henry VIII; by an act of Parliament, Nov. 1534, the king was declared supreme head of the church. Under Edward VI. 1547—1553, the protestant doctrines were advanced, though the episcopal hierarchy was retained, as dependant on the king. The restoration of the papal dominion under Mary 1553—1558, was soon frustrated by Elizabeth.

In Scotland, the reformed doctrines had been disseminated, since 1525, especially by the instrumentality of John Knox, the disciple of Calvin, but was opposed by the regent and Roman hierarchy.*

In Switzerland, the reformation arose, independently of Luther, by the exertions of Zwingli, (who fell Oct. 11th, 1551, at Cappel, in a battle with the Catholics) in Zurich. It spread rapidly; in 1528, it had already been altogether or partially adopted by the cantons of Zurich, Bern, Basle, Appenzell, Glarus and Schaffhausen. A separation from those who followed the confession of Augsburg, grew in

* Life of the Scottish Reformer, John Knox, with a sketch of the Reformation in Scotland, by S. Thomas M'Crie.

1525 out of the unhappy difference of opinion respecting the sacrament of the supper; and thus originated the reformed party, which was first fully developed in Geneva, through Calvin, 1535—1564. This city acquired great, lasting, and even increasing importance for Europe, as the focus of religious, political and scientific ideas; and likewise, since its emancipation from Savoy and the expulsion of its bishop, 1533, of practical republicanism. Here the forms and discipline of the reformed church were developed.—By means of the university founded 1539 at Calvin's impulse, Geneva became the first high school of theology, for this confession, and at that time the only one, where the French language prevailed.

20. Among the consequences of the reformation, —in its practical influence at least, if not in its immediate origin,—we must mention the society of Jesuits, which was formed during the progress of the reformation. The object of this society always was the control of public opinion; and it was to operate as a defence of popery, (i. e. of the supreme papal authority,) by counteracting protestantism (i. e. the freedom of the understanding.) Without doubt this was feasible, if at all, by an extensive social combination. All means for attaining this object were perhaps esteemed proper, but the circumstances of the times were to determine, which means were capable of application. So far the society had to advance with the age and comply with its variations; but chained by its leading object, it could do so only to a certain degree. Its very nature rendered it necessary, that it should either become all-powerful or be annihilated; the former, if it should suppress protestantism, the other if protestantism, used in the above sense, should ac-

quire the ascendency; for no peace or even truce could here be thought of. But before attaining any one of these objects, a wide career was to be traversed. Should we, therefore, be astonished at the length and extent of its activity? The interference with politics was in itself, only a means for obtaining its object, a means very necessary indeed, but extremely dangerous to itself, because conflicts with the governments were inevitable, so soon as it lost the control of opinion, to which even princes are subject. Pervading every Christian country, sometimes visibly, sometimes invisibly, it became a bond, embracing the whole political system of Europe; influencing not merely individuals, but the whole. What and how great were its effects, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine; but the manner in which it operated may be deduced, in its general features, from the organization of the society.

The society was founded by the enthusiastic knight, Ignatius Loyola, at first as a private fraternity, 1534; it was sanctioned by Pope Paul III. 1540; and very much enlarged 1543—1549. It rose rapidly into prosperity, favored by the spirit of the age, notwithstanding manifold resistance. At the death of its founder 1556 it comprehended the west of Europe in nine provinces; (1 in Portugal, 3 in Spain, 1 in France, 2 in Germany and the Netherlands and 2 in Italy;) as also the other parts of the globe, by means of missions, in three provinces (Brazil, Ethiopia and India.)— With respect to its peculiar external forms, it was not separated from the world as an order, but attached itself to it, as a society, so much so as to be partly amalgamated with it, without however, losing its own distinct character. There were colleges and seminaries, but no cloisters. There was

a dress peculiar to the order, but it was no monastic dress. Its internal organization, in its outlines, was the following. In respect, *a.* to the government, there existed the principle of the most absolute despotism, and thence of blind and patient obedience, flowing immediately from the design of the institution. The general head of the society *(praepositus generalis)* was dependent on no one but the Pope; he resided in Rome. Since Lainez, (1558—1564) his jurisdiction was unlimited, in sole possession of the executive power and soon,—notwithstanding the general and provincial congregations—of the legislative also, from whom all power arises, and to whom all returns. They had assistants—provincialists—rectors; (councillors, governors and inferior governors). Even the dependence on the Pope could not be oppressive, for the interest of both was the same; and the manner of acting was always left to the general. *b.* In respect to the classes of members, there were, novices,—scholars and coadjutors (the former gave instruction, to the latter was committed the care of souls)—professed members. Of the manner of recruiting and maxims, we mention the great limitation of the number of the professed members, or Jesuits, in the most proper sense of the word, who had taken the fourth vow of obedience towards the Pope, and by whom all the higher offices were filled.—Besides these, some add another class of adjuncts, or secret Jesuits without uniform, but not unfrequently with stars or bishops' mitres. *c.* The principal means of disseminating their principles were, missions,—confessionals, especially at courts;—and the instruction of youth in lower and higher seminaries. Thus the society always embraced the future with the present generation.—An institution, the aim of which is the suppression of all free developement of mind, is intrinsically bad. The good it has done for the propagation of religion and single branches of science, is not on that account to be depreciated; but the political historian has very little of good to tell of.*

* The history of the order, as it ought to be written, that is, delineated from its *own* point of view, offers a field for a

21. Politics acquired on the whole, during this period, a more noble appearance, however paltry they may seem, considered in their single parts. Greater and more fixed objects were pursued; the motives, that impelled the age to them, were of a higher nature, and they were directed by men of more character, if not of more shrewdness, than before. The influence of the theologians, greater almost among the Protestants, than among the Catholics, was often an evil. Yet at that time it never contributed towards fanning the fire of war; but frequently towards quelling its bursting flames.

22. Political economy made no essential progress, notwithstanding the urgent want of it. These were satisfied by imposing new taxes, not without the resistance of the orders, and large loans from the rich commercial cities. No one of the princes, no one of the cabinets devoted to it any attention farther than was required by the present moment. And how was it to be expected that they would, when religion drew to itself the general attention?

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future historian. Some excellent preliminary matter on the subject may be found in the article; Jesuiten, Allg. Deutsche Encyclopaedie, B. XVII. in the Appendix, (by Spittler. It has also been printed separately; Leipzig, 1817.)

Geschichte der Jesuiten in Baiern, von Carl. Heinrich Ritter von Lang, Nürnberg. 1819. This work is drawn altogether from original records. But it is preceded by a general introductory part, exhibiting the internal organization of the society. It is critical and impartial.

Among the larger works we ought to mention:

Allgemeine Geschichte der Jesuiten von dem Ursprunge ihres Ordens bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit; von P. Ph. Wolff. 4 Voll. 2d edition. Leipzig. 1803. besides; Schroeckh Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation. B. III. the last section. Very valuable.

But the treasures streaming into Spain from America, gave firmer root to the error, that the wealth of a country is proportionate to the mass of its gold and silver. And yet Spain was not rich; and Charles V. remained poor, if he is to be called so, who has always less than he needs.

23. The art of war made rather greater progress. The wars, repeatedly renewed between Charles and Francis, although neither of them was in reality a great general, necessarily led to new regulations. At the head of these is the organization of a regular infantry, the true foundation of all the art of war. But the legions of Francis were a militia rather than standing troops; and even the formidable imperial infantry consisted of bands of soldiers, enlisted for an indefinite time. How different were they both, in equipments and discipline, from the infantry of more recent times? A higher system of tactics was not to be expected, so long as light manoeuvres continued to be impossible, on account of the depth of the files.

III. *History of Colonial Affairs during this period.**

1. The Spanish and Portuguese were in this period also, the only ones, who ruled beyond the ocean; and the very fact that they had been so long without rivals, served more and more to

* In addition to the works heretofore cited, those with particular reference to Spanish America are the following:

Anton de Herrera, Decadas o historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y tierra firma nel mar

strengthen their claims to the exclusive possession of the discovered lands and seas. But the progress of the two was very unequal. If the Portuguese colonial system was almost finished, at the close of the former period, the vast structure of the Spanish was not reared and put in order till the present.

2. The Spanish possessions on the continent of America were founded by the conquest of Mexico (New Spain), Peru, Terra Firma, and New Grenada. But there was still a great difference between what were called, and what were, Spanish possessions. The inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, already somewhat civilized and living in cities and villages, were easily reduced to subjection; but what dominion could be exercised over the num-

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Oceano, en quatro decadas desde el anno 1492. hasta el de 1531. Madrid. 1601.—The best edition with continuations 1729. 5 Voll. fol.

Historia del nuevo Mundo da Juan Battista Munoz. en Madrid. 1793. 4to. The first volume only has appeared.

Saggio di storia Americana naturale, civile e sacra de Regni e delle provincie Spagnole di terra firma nella America meridionale, dell' Abbate Filippo Salvador Gilii. Roma. 1780. 4 Voll. 8vo.—The political portion is the least satisfactory.

Antonio da Ulloa, relacion historica del Viage a la America meridional. 1748. 2 Voll. 4to. French. 1751. This is the best description of those provinces.

The leading sources for the internal administration of these countries are the laws and regulations of the kings, which the Spanish government itself caused to be collected and published.

Recopilacion de Reyes de los Leynos de los Indias; mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Catolica del Rey D. Carlos II. nuestro Sennor. Tercera Edicion en Madrid. Ao. 1774. IV Voll. fol. This collection, very well arranged, according to the subjects, begins with 1509, and goes to the beginning of the reign of Charles II. The 4th Vol. contains a very complete index.

berless tribes, which wandered in pursuit of game, through the immense forests and plains, unless they could be civilized, i. e. could be *converted.* Thus the Spanish supremacy in the interior of those countries was dependent on missions, and the cross here finally penetrated farther than the sword, though it could not advance so rapidly.

The conquest of Mexico 1519—1521, by Francis Cortes was not achieved without a violent resistance.—Attempts had been made since 1525 to subdue Peru, Quito and Chili; this was accomplished 1529—1535 by Francis Pizarro and his companions and brothers. Terra Firma was conquered 1532 and New Grenada 1536. Several other countries were discovered in this period, but not yet subdued.

3. These conquered lands became, and continued to be, provinces of the mother country. This was very much promoted by the constitution given them,—and political skill has rarely had a more difficult problem to solve;—but had they not been supported by the national spirit, all would probably have been useless. Their constitution was formed gradually; its fundamental principles were established during this period. As far as was expedient, the constitution of the mother state was generally copied; but every thing could not be, the other side of the ocean, as it was at home. Here the entire administration was committed to a supreme college, dependent only on the king, the council of the Indies (Consejo Real y supremo de Indias) in Madrid, to which council the court of commerce and justice in commercial affairs (Audienzia real de la contratacion) in Seville was subordinate; and thus a firmer colonial policy was

founded, than by any other nation. In the provinces viceroys (Virreyes) were appointed, as the representatives of the monarch; for judicial affairs, the Audiencias were instituted as the highest domestic tribunal, and as a council for the viceroys in matters of government. The cities chose their own Cabildos, or municipal officers.

The foundation of the whole constitution was laid by the regulations of Charles V. (leyes nuevas) of the year 1542. The council of the Indies was established 1511, but the plan was not completed till 1542. Two viceroys were appointed, first in Mexico 1540, and afterwards in Peru 1542, as heads of the whole civil and military administration, under whom several *Gobernadores* and *Capitanes* were gradually placed. Two *Audiencias* were instituted at Mexico and Lima 1542, the viceroys presiding, but without a voice in judicial affairs; the number of these courts was afterwards increased to ten, as that of the viceroys to four. From the *Audiencias*, as courts of justice, there was an appeal to the council of the Indies.

4. These political institutions pre-supposed the establishment of towns, (Ciudades, Villas and Lugares). These were already to be found in Mexico and Peru, but not in the other countries; even in the former, not always where they were needed by the new rulers. The places, first settled, were harbors and cities on the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico; and shortly on those of the Pacific ocean. Settlements in the interior were made more slowly and gradually.

The towns on the coasts, at first consisting for the most part of a church and a few houses, were at the same time, harbors and garrisons. The first was Cumana, founded 1520, followed by the important harbors Porto Bello and Carthagena 1532, Valencia 1555, Caraccas 1567, and

earlier, by Vera Cruz, the first settlement in Mexico. On the coasts of the Pacific, there were, in Mexico, Acapulco; in Darien, Panama; in Peru, Lima 1535, and in Chili, Conception 1550; and the first, though unsuccessful, attempt was made to settle Buenos Ayres, on the Rio de la Plata in 1535. The towns of the interior generally sprang up in the vicinity of the places, where mines had been previously excavated.—The missions, which were afterwards formed, consisted of small villages along the banks of the principal and secondary rivers and on the immense plains of the interior, inhabited by converted Indians under the supervision of an ecclesiastic.

5. But stronger than all political ties, were those woven by religion between the mother land and colonies. While Christianity with all its external forms, the hierarchy, cloisters, and, before long, even the inquisition,—joined however to the scientific culture and literary institutions, which are connected with them,—was here introduced, there was formed an ecclesiastical state, which was entirely subordinate not to the popes but to the kings, and was naturally followed by the decline of the culture and with it the national spirit of the native nations.

By the privileges, granted by Alexander VI. and Julius II. (patronazgo real), the Papal power was limited to the ratification of the appointments to ecclesiastical offices.—Mexico and Lima were first erected into Archbishoprics, to which afterwards Caraccas, Santa Fe di Bogota and Guatimala were added; and bishoprics, each with its entire chapter.—The lower ecclesiastical clergy were divided into *Curas* in the Spanish settlements, *Doctrineras* in the Indian, and *Missioneras* among the savages.—The establishment of cloisters followed from the original purpose of converting the Indians, since this was first left to the mendicant orders (afterwards to the Jesuits also). How must these institutions have thriv-

en in such countries, where the inquisition (introduced 1570 by Philip II.) was able to lay a much stricter embargo on ideas, than on the other side of the ocean?—Universities were founded in Mexico and Lima 1551.

6. Thus the form of European states was minutely imitated in those countries. But the mass of the people could never, from the difference of descent, become amalgamated into one nation; and important political distinctions resulted from this physical difference. While the whites ruled, the colored (pardoz) stood beneath them; not only the Indians themselves, however much the laws espoused their cause and secured to them their personal freedom, but also the mongrel classes, formed by intermingling with them (Mestizos, Tercerones and Cuarterones), to which are to be added the negroes, brought by the slave trade from Africa, from whose associating with the Europeans there arose another intermedial species, called the Mulattos. These different classes pursued almost exclusively different occupations, and thus a real division into castes was formed, among which the whites may be regarded as a kind of nobility, that was divided into the native families (Creoles), and the foreigners (Chapetones). Among the Creoles there existed a perfect equality, without any traces of nobility. But they were excluded from all the offices of government, which were conferred only on Europeans, who were not permitted to settle; (the seed of future revolutions). Happily, Spain soon felt the necessity of regulating by a strict police the emigration from the mother country, (for from no others was emigration permitted,)

and to this police it owes in a great degree the maintenance of the dependence of its colonies.

Repeated laws were made by the Spanish government, for the good of the Indians. But these laws could do but little towards curbing the cruelty of the first conquerors. The principal were made since the year 1544, by which the system of feudal service which had been introduced, (Encomiendas, Repartimientos) was more circumscribed. Personal freedom was ensured to the Indians; the amount of service (Mitas) and tributes were fixed; and they were allowed to reside in separate villages under peculiar officers (Caciques), chosen from among themselves.*

7. The advantages derived from these countries was still confined almost entirely to the products of the mines of precious metals, the riches of which, especially the silver mines, exceeded all expectation. They were not indeed less rich in other productions, but so long as the use of cochineal and of indigo as dye-stuffs, of cocoa, tobacco, and Peruvian bark were unknown or but little introduced in Europe, these could constitute no important objects of commerce. The search for precious metals was granted to private persons, in consideration of a tax to be paid to the crown, whence arose the many settlements in the interior; but a scientific system of mining was but slowly introduced.

The mines of Zacatecas, in Mexico, were discovered 1532, those of Potosi in Peru, 1545; since which time the annual proceeds on an average have been estimated at 30

* B. de las Casas Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias 1552. The famous delineation of the cruelties of the first conquerors.—The laws to improve the condition of the Indians fill almost a whole book in the Leyes, (L. VI.) No other government has done so much for the aborigines as the Spanish.

millions of piastres, half of which is exported to Europe. The proportion paid to the king it was found necessary to diminish by degrees from 20 to 5 per cent.; and in the richest regions of the earth, the excavating of mines was such a game of hazard, that by far the most experiments ended in ruin.

8. These labors in the mines, and in the few plantations, led, from a desire to spare the Indians who were inadequate to the toil, to the introduction of blacks from Africa, and gave existence to the slave trade, with its horrors,—principally on the proposal of las Casas. It was never exercised indeed by the Spaniards themselves; but the government entered into an agreement (Assiento) with foreigners, who were allured by the gain, to introduce a fixed number of slaves.

The slave trade of the Europeans proceeded from the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese on the coasts of Africa, and was carried on by them before the discovery of America. Negroes were carried to the West Indies before the proposal of Las Casas; but through him this traffic was first regularly established 1517; as Charles V. conferred on his favorite La Bresa the monopoly of 4000 slaves annually, which he sold to the Genoese. But these obtained them of the Portuguese, in whose hands the traffic really stood, although the English began to participate in it towards this end of the period.*

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* M. C. Sprengel vom Ursprunge des Sclavenhandels. 1779.

Vollstandige historisch-philosophische Darstellung aller Veränderungen des Neger-Sclavenhandels, von dessen Ursprunge an bis zu seiner gänzlichen Aufhebung, von All. Hüne. D. d. Phil. 2. Theile. Göttingen. 1820. The first part contains the history of the origin and increase, the second of the abolition of the slave trade. This is the best work on the subject, written with industry and method.

9. The Spanish colonies thus acquired the character of mining colonies, and in this originated the restraints, that were imposed on their commerce. How, without being inconsistent, could Spain have offered free trade to foreigners? And even if the advantages, peculiar to commerce, were taken into consideration, they were regarded as of secondary importance; the principal object was to transmit the gold and silver of those countries to Spain and to Spain only. It was well known, that this was not the way to promote the prosperity of the colonies; but the prosperity of the colonies, in the usual sense, was not to be the object.—As the colonies were to pour their treasures into the lap of Spain alone, so Spain wished alone to supply their European wants.

In Spain, the commerce was confined to the single port of Seville. Two squadrons were annually despatched, the *galeones* of about 12 large vessels, the fleet of about 15. The former destined for South America, proceeded to Porto Bello, the latter, destined for Mexico, to Vera Cruz. Great fairs were held in those cities. Spain did not indeed commit its colonial commerce to a company; but must not the monopoly of a few rich houses have necessarily sprung from these restrictions?

10. The dominion of the Portuguese in the East Indies under the two kings, Emanuel the Great (†1521) and John III. (†1557), not only continued but was even enlarged; and yet more the extent of their trade. It was the policy of these princes to change the viceroys at least once in three years; whether to the advantage or injury of their possessions it is difficult to say. If peace could but have been preserved in India, what great advantages

must have ensued. But this was impossible; for the Moors, (Mahomedans, mostly Arabians), would not suffer themselves to be dispossessed of the Indian coasting trade.

The Portuguese had settled on Ceylon since 1518, especially at Columbo and Point Gales, and monopolized the trade in cinnamon.—Only the coasts of the island actually belonged to them. Diu was taken 1535; settlements were made in Camboja; and they extended from the Moluccas to Sumatra, Java, Celebes and Borneo. If the Europeans did not in all places have fixed settlements, they still visited the respective marts.

11. It was chiefly, however, the connexion already formed with China, and the access opened to Japan, that enlarged the compass of their commerce. This was essentially promoted by the missions, undertaken by the Jesuits, immediately after their establishment, so soon as John III. admitted them into his realms, and the name of Xaver, the apostle of the Indies, should not be omitted in history.

Attempts had already been made to form a connexion with China 1517 by the envoy, Th. Pereira. A settlement was probably made at Liampo, (Ningpo ?) without any permanent result.—Japan had been known since 1542; the mission of Xaver was followed by great consequences, the establishment of a regular and highly lucrative commerce for Portugal.

12. In this period therefore, the proud structure of Portuguese dominion in the Indies stood in all its perfection. It had been reared by a few bold and genial spirits. It had to be sustained not by mere physical strength, but by moral supports, heroic courage and patriotism. As these could not suddenly disappear, so no sudden downfall was to

be expected; but this downfall was therefore more inevitably prepared by their gradual decay; and was fearfully accelerated, in the ensuing period, by foreign convulsions.

13. In Brazil also, the possessions of the Portuguese were extended during this period. Here a happy fate prevented, for the moment, the discovery of treasures of gold and precious stones; and for this reason attention was in some degree directed to the cultivation of the soil. The different regulations, made by the crown, extended this to a certain degree, although attention was still limited to a portion of the coast, mostly of the northern half. The progress here made, necessarily reacted on the settlements on the coasts of Africa in Congo and Guinea, since the want of slaves increased in an equal measure, and the inhabitants of Brazil, though not declared free, were difficult to subdue, and still less fit to use for labor.

A new system was introduced since 1525 by John III., large strips of land along the coast to fifty leagues into the interior, being granted to single families or individuals as male fees, with almost absolute jurisdiction, even over the natives, whom the proprietors caused to till the ground. In this way 1539—1549, there arose the Capitanias of St. Vicente, Espirito Santo, dos Ilheos, Maranham, Portoseguro and Pernambuco, with their cities, and especially Bahia, with its capital St. Salvador as the centre of the whole 1549. In the same year, the first governor, Thomas of Susa, was sent out, accompanied by six Jesuits, as missionaries. The power of the proprietors was limited, in favor of the crown; and a more regular plan of civilization was adopted. Besides the natural productions, principally dyewood, the sugar cane, transplanted thither from Madeira, even at that time was

cultivated.—Like Spain, Portugal retained the exclusive trade, which was carried on by a fleet, sent out every March. The Indians were cruelly treated and made slaves, whenever possible, whence arose continual wars with them.*

14. Although the Spanish and Portuguese still met with no other powerful rivals in Europe, for some few attempts at discoveries made by the British and French were as yet without results, there arose a controversy between themselves respecting the Moluccas, whose situation was rather uncertain, with reference to the Papal line of demarcation. It led to the first circumnavigation of the earth, which did not terminate indeed the strife about the Moluccas, but was highly important from its consequences for geography and navigation.

A voyage was made by Ferd. Magellan, a Portuguese, who, for some injury, entered the Spanish service, 1519—1522. He discovered the straits into the Pacific ocean, called after him, and consequently a new passage to the East Indies. He also discovered the Philippine islands, where Magellan himself lost his life 1521. But his principal ship (the Victoria) returned to Seville.—The contest respecting the Molucca islands was terminated by a treaty 1529. Charles V. sold his claims to Portugal for 350,000 ducats.†

* History of Brazil by Rob. Southey. 1810. P. I. II. A work, written with profound knowledge of the subject and impartiality.

Histoire du Brazil, depuis sa découverte en 1500 jusqu' en 1810 par Mr. Alphonse de Beauchamp. III Voll. Paris. 1815. Useful as a general historical view.

† Pigafetta (who accompanied Magellan), Primo viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo. The first perfect edition was given by C. Amoretti. Milano. 1800.

Third Period. From 1556 *to* 1618.*

1. The period of Elizabeth and Philip, of William of Orange and Henry IV. awakens by these names alone associations, which predetermine its general character, as the period, when the reformation was the moving principle of European politics. And so it must necessarily have been, for in the very time, when its victories were becoming more decisive, Philip arrayed against it the inquisition in open hostility, and the Jesuits, the cabinets in secret.

The great influence of the Jesuits on the cabinets, especially as confessors, pervaded during this period, most of the countries of Europe ; for they ruled in Portugal under Sebastian ; found powerful protectors in Spain, in Philip II., in France, after a long and violent resistance, in Catharine of Medici and the Guises, in Germany in Albert V. of Bavaria, etc. and were not less active in the north.

2. In addition, all the old dreams of a reconciliation were dissipated by the dissolution, which soon ensued, of the council of Trent. Its decisions not only made the religious schism irremediable, but were of such a nature, that most of the

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* The leading general works are :

J. A. Thuani historiarum sui temporis L. CXXXVIII. ab a. D. 1543. usque ad a. 1607. The best edition is Londini 1704. 7 Voll. fol.—The author expressly announces his master work as a general history.

Fr. Ch. Khevenhüller Annales Ferdinandei, 1578 to 1637. Leipzig. 1716—1726. 12 Voll. fol.—This work is without any methodical form, but is alike important for the riches of the materials, and the office of the author, who was imperial ambassador at Madrid.—An abridgement of it was published by Runde ; Leipzig. 1778. 4 Theile. 8vo. It goes to 1594.

Catholic states either rejected them altogether, as France, or refused to receive them without restrictions, since they were equally disadvantageous to the secular and episcopal power.

The council of Trent was finally dissolved, Dec. 4th, 1563, which had convened again Jan. 1562, after its violent separation. Its decrees 1. uttered anathemas against all those who refused to subscribe to the distinguishing doctrines of the Romish church. 2. They conceded much to the power of the church, to the disadvantage of the civil power. 3. They declared that the episcopal dignity did not emanate from God, but that it was entirely subordinate to the papal.—The Roman court seemed therefore to have safely conducted away all danger; when a monk inflicted on it the deepest wounds, by writing a history of the council, long after its dissolution.*

3. But from the course that the reformation took, one grand idea was unfolded, which, as the basis of practical politics, was of the highest importance. Its enemies saw in its adherents the enemies of the state, and heretics and rebels were with them synonymous terms; its friends saw in its enemies the champions of tyranny; and thus the belief was formed, that the ancient religion was the bulwark of absolute despotism, the new doctrine, the banner of liberty; an idea, purely erroneous, so far as the doctrines, merely as such, were concerned, and abundantly corrected by subsequent experience; but not without reason, so long as religious parties were forced to become political parties. But who was it, that forced them to become so, and why were they thus compelled?

* Historia del Concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave, Polano. (Paolo Sarpi) 1619. 4to. This work has passed through many editions, and we mention the French translation by François de Courayes. Londr. 1736. II Voll. fol.

4. These ideas were chiefly formed and confirmed by the fact, that the leading rival states were not in this, as in the former period, Spain and France, (the latter of which was too much occupied with its own internal disturbances and commotions), but Spain and England, two powers not only of different religions, but also, the former being peculiarly the defender of the Catholic faith, the latter of the Protestant, both resting their political existence on religion, and both under rulers, who felt an equally intense desire to have the direction of foreign countries. The foreign policy of Elizabeth excelled that of Philip in little, except in circumspection.

5. Another important difference between the present period and the former lies in the separation of the Spanish, and German imperial, crowns. The power of the house of Hapsburg was in itself thus weakened; but it operated more powerfully, since the personal character of the princes of the Austrian line, induced it to adopt a policy entirely different from that of Philip II.; and by maintaining peace in Germany prevented the breaking out of a general war.

The internal relations of the house of Austria to the Spanish line had been very much weakened, since the death of Ferdinand 1564, by a division, into the Austrian and Stirian line.

6. The recent insurrection of the Netherlands became the actual centre of political interests; for beside Spain, England and France were gradually occupied by it. Beside that insurrection, the great ferment, produced by the reformation du-

ring this period in most of the other countries of Europe, and its consequences, which exercised for the most part, a decisive influence on the future aspect of the leading European states, require to be cursorily observed.

I. *History of the origin of the republic of the United Netherlands, and its immediate influence on the affairs of Europe; from its beginning till the truce of twelve years*, 1609.*

1. The revolution in the Netherlands terminated in a republic. But our whole view of this occurrence would be distorted, should we regard this result as the object proposed. To vindicate their ancient rights against encroaching in-

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* The historians of the revolution of the Netherlands are divided into two classes; the Catholic, or those who are inclined to the Spanish side, and the Protestant. At the head of the former, stands:

Historia della guerra di Fiandra, descritta del Cardinal Bentivoglio; in tre parti. 4to. in Venezia. 1670. This holds its rank as the best work on this subject. It goes to the truce of twelve years.

Fabiani Stradae de bello Belgico decades duae ab excessu Carol. V. usque ad initium praefecturae Alexandri Farnes. principis, Francofurti. 1651. 4to. But little more than a history of the war.

Among writers on the other side, besides the general history of the republic of the United Provinces by Waagenaar and the abridgement of it by Totze, (Hallishe Allg. Welth. B. 34. 35.) we mention:

Em. Meteren Niederländische Historien vom Anfang des Kriegs bis 1611. Arnheim. 1611. fol.

Van der Vynkt, Geschichte der vereinigten Niederlande von ihrem Ursprunge im Jahr 1560 an bis zum Westphalischen Frieden; Zürich. 1793. Vol. I. II. III. 8vo. But six

novations was the whole object of the insurgents; they eventually became republicans, only because they could find no master, who suited them.

2. Since we must thus beware of ascribing that event to such ideas as are now prevalent, we may infer that no political notions were put in circulation by it, and that least of all was a republican feeling created in Europe. Its political influences must on this account have been gradually developed, and were therefore more comprehensive and permanent.

3. With respect to the extent and general view of the Netherlands at that time, they had been mostly transferred from the ducal house of Burgundy to the house of Hapsburg, by the marriage of Maximilian of Austria, with Mary, 1477. the only daughter of Charles the Bold. Charles V. was the first to give such extent to it, that all the Belgic as well as the Batavian provinces, seventeen in number, were under his dominion. Though they now formed one state under a common head, it was composed of as many individual states, each of which had its own assembly of states and its own constitution, and many of them their own stadtholders.—General assemblies

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copies of the French original, Troubles des Pays-bas, are said to have been printed. The author, member of the council of state of Flanders, had access to the archives; and consequently, more that was new might have been expected; though we can pardon his not being a great historian.

Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande von der Spanischen Regierung, von Fr. Schiller. Leipzig. 1788. 8vo. It goes only to the arrival of Alva. (Continued till 1609, by C. Curth. 3 Voll. 1809.) Great minds are themselves first conscious, in what department they are at home.

of the states of all the provinces were not unusual; and in the absence of the prince, after he was in possession of the Spanish throne, his place was supplied by a chief stadtholder or regent, at whose side stood three colleges, the council of state, the privy council and the council of finances. The supreme council at Mechlin constituted a general court of appeals.

The 17 provinces were; 4 duchies: Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Guelderland; 7 counties: Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namur and Zutphen; 1 margraviate: Antwerp; 5 lordships: Mechlin, Friesland, Utrecht, Groningen and Overyssel.—Cambray and Franche Comté were considered as separate.

4. But though the princes were restrained by the forms of the assembly of the states, they were far more so by the spirit of the people. In its constitution lay its happiness, and in that its strength. The feeling of the highest prosperity and wealth, the fruits of the old commerce of the Belgic cities, acquired under the protection of that constitution, made it dear to the nation. There hardly existed a people more easy to govern, if its rights were untouched; or more obstinate in resistance, if their sanctuary was attacked.

5. At the accession of Philip II. to the government of the provinces, the seed of future commotions had been spread by the reformation, which found an immediate access to a country, where there were so many men, independent by fortune and birth; but, the results with which it was accompanied depended on its having been received in the Batavian provinces, far more readily

than in the Belgic. The new eruption of the war with France, which prolonged Philip's residence in the Low countries, was probably the only thing that preserved quiet; but the peace of Chateau Cambresis, which terminated it, was also the harbinger of the storm.

The truce of Vaucelles was broken (see p. 63) at the instigation of Pope Paul IV., and the war renewed, which required a yet greater extent from the implication of England by Philip II., and was prosecuted, generally unsuccessfully for France, both in Italy and on the frontiers of the Netherlands. The French were defeated at St. Quentin Aug. 10th, 1557, and they lost that fortress. On the other hand Calais was conquered by the duke of Guise, 8th of Jan. 1558. Another defeat was suffered at Grevelingen, July 13th, 1558. The peace of Chateau Cambresis was concluded April 3d, 1559. A mutual restitution was made of conquests (France retaining Calais;) to the great disadvantage of France by the restitution of Savoy to Emanuel Philibert, (Philip's victorious general). A double treaty of marriage was contracted, uniting the houses of France, Spain and Savoy; and secret projects were concerted for exterminating the heresy by the influence of the Guises in France and Granvellas in Spain.

6. Loud complaints were uttered by the Netherlands, even before Philip's departure for Spain, partly respecting the Spanish garrisons, partly respecting the edicts, denouncing penalties against heretics. But neither the expressions of Philip, nor his scheme of declaring his half sister Margaret of Parma, regent, with the assistance of Granvella, gave promise of amendment; and the still severer edicts, which had been published since his return to Spain, and the changes in the hierarchy, to-

gether with the fall of the constitution of states, excited apprehensions of the introduction of the Spanish inquisition.

The states general convened before his departure (autumn 1559).—Whether the dreaded inquisition was to be that, introduced by Charles V. for enforcing his edict, or the formal Spanish inquisition, was of little consequence. It excited equal terror in the professors of the old and the new faith, and the fermentation was therefore spread through all the provinces.

7. Hated as the tyranny of Philip seems to have been, the impartial historian cannot omit to record the point, from which he took his view. In his eyes religious uniformity was the foundation of civil quiet, and therefore it was his object. Educated in these opinions, he thought the history of his own time offered ample confirmation of them. His active but narrow mind could not comprehend, that the remedy was much worse than the imagined evils, and would moreover prove ineffectual in the end.

The government of Margaret of Parma lasted from 1559—Sept. 1567. The recall of the detested Granvella 1562 could produce no essential change, since the measures adopted were not merely his, but Philip's also.

8. The disturbances broke out, as soon as a point of union was formed, after the signing of the compromise. But the general management was so bad, that the suppression of the insurrection, resolved on, in secret in the Spanish cabinet, by an armed force, could not appear very difficult. How easy it would have been, had a prudent compliance been united with measures of decision! But the choice of a leader was in this case deci-

sive, and every hope could not but vanish, so soon as the duke of Alva was appointed.

The compromise was signed in Brussels Nov. 1565 and formally delivered to Margaret April 5th, 1566. Its signers were tauntingly called beggars ; Geuses, (Gueux). Philip's plan was, to send the Spanish troops in Italy, to the Netherlands under Alva, who arrived there at their head in August 1567 with such authority, that the Duchess of Parma, the former regent, took her departure.

9. Alva's reign of terror ensued. The imprisonment of the chiefs, who remained in the country, especially of the counts Egmont and Horn, and the erection of a bloody council, the council of tumults, were to quell rebellion and exterminate heresy ; but tyranny recoiled, as usual, on itself; in the tranquillity, the result of such violence, the danger, menaced by the emigration of thousands of all ranks, was as much beyond the horizon of despotic power, as the confiscation of their goods was within it. 1567 to 1573.

A general act of outlawry was promulgated against the Netherlands, as transgressors of the royal majesty.—Numerous executions took place, especially of Egmont and Horn, Jan. 5th, 1568.—And nevertheless the exaction of the tenth penny 1569, operated far more powerfully than the erection of the council of blood.

10. Thus almost all the hopes of liberation rested on a band of emigrants. And what hopes could have been entertained of these, had not William, prince of Orange, been among them, the very man for this very crisis ? As a general he has been excelled by many, as the head and leader of an insurrection by no one. Who, but he, would have been able to hold together a mass compounded of

such repulsive parts? Who could have accomplished so much with such scanty resources? And who understood, so well as he, how to labor honestly for his country and at the same time so much for himself? But the first attempts at liberation could hardly succeed, since he was too unequal to offer battle in open field, and the want of money forced him to disband his army. The exiles on the water had first to learn the weak side of the Spanish, till the capture of Briel not only brought the insurrection to a rupture, but also by making the northern provinces the theatre of it, determined beforehand the issue. The states of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht appoint William of Orange royal stadtholder.

Louis, count of Nassau, made an unsuccessful attack upon Friesland, and his brother, the prince, on Brabant 1568.—The exiles on the water had arisen and been increasing since 1570, the prince granting letters of marque and reprisals.—Briel was conquered April 1, 1572. And the insurrection broke out in most of the cities of Holland and Zealand. Alva was able, with his few troops, to suppress it in single cases, but not every where.

11. Weak as were the resources of the insurgents, they had no reason to despair of foreign aid. Their cause became more and more, the cause of the protestant religion, and therefore of general politics. The protestant princes of Germany, the Huguenots in France, even then battling for their rights, above all Elizabeth of England, the rival of Philip, seemed to regard the cause of the insurgents as their own. But the first could hardly afford much assistance, the others could not and Elizabeth would not do so gratui-

tously. It required all the activity and prudence of the prince to improve these relations, whilst he yet had to contend with the still greater internal obstacles, thrown in his way by religious and family jealousy.

The prince first solicited the assistance of the German princes and the German empire; but although he was not wholly unsuccessful in single cases, yet the family connexion of Austria and Spain prevented an universal espousal of his interest.—Of much greater importance was the influence of the disturbances of the Huguenots; both by the hopes which they encouraged, and the personal connexions of the prince in France. But after the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24th, 1572), what assistance could they afford to strangers?—The participation of Elizabeth only (that of Denmark and Sweden was solicited in vain), finally led to great results. But it was soon felt, perhaps more than is generally thought, that a friend can be yet more dangerous than an enemy. Not till an open quarrel arose between her and Spain (1587,) was an honest friendship possible. And would it under any circumstances have been possible, could Elizabeth have then foreseen, that the navy and commerce of the rising republic would in twenty years outstrip those of England?

12. After Alva's departure, a new and greater danger menaced the country under his successor Zuniga y Reguesens, caused by his greater moderation, by the defeat on Mook heath and the attacks on Holland and Zealand. But the mutinies of the unpaid Spanish troops, and the seasonable death of Reguesens came to the aid of the prince, when he himself was on the verge of despair. The project of consolidating the insurrection was effected by a closer union of Zealand and Holland; but the

fearful sack of Antwerp induced five Batavian and six Belgic provinces to join the league in the union of Ghent, for purposes of common defence,—without however renouncing their allegiance to Philip.

Alva departed in Dec. 1573. His successor, Reguesens, was stadtholder till March 5th, 1576.—Louis, count of Nassau, and Henry his brother were defeated and slain at Mook, near Nimuegen, April 14th, 1574.—During the interregnum of the council of state, after the death of Reguesens, Antwerp was pillaged by the Spanish soldiers, Nov. 4th.—The pacification of Ghent was concluded, Nov. 8th, 1576.

13. But the artifices of the new stadtholder, Don Juan, who seemed resolved to purchase peace at any price, since he even adopted the confederacy of Ghent, required the whole attention of the prince; and nothing but the firmness, with which he inspired Zealand and Holland, frustrated the projects of Spain. But while the confederacy of Ghent fell asunder of itself the conviction became more deeply rooted, that liberty could be preserved only by more closely cementing the northern provinces and by the total dissolution of all dependence on Spain. Thus the union of Utrecht, the actual basis of the future republic was prepared by the prince; although it neither founded a republic without princes, nor a mere Batavian republic. Any one of the southern provinces, that desired, was allowed to join, though only the northern were firmly united.

The union of Utrecht was concluded, Jan. 23d, 1579, between Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland and Groningen. Friesland and Overyssel acceded, June 11th, as also Ghent, Antwerp, Breda and other Belgic cities.

14. But nevertheless, the most dangerous period appeared to have arrived, when Alexander, duke of Parma, was appointed regent by the king, after the death of Don Juan. Who merited, more than he, to be opposed to the prince? To him, Philip was indebted for the reconquest of the Belgic provinces; but this entire separation was perhaps the most fortunate thing, that could have occurred for the cause. Never was the need of foreign aid, to which was attached the idea of foreign supremacy, so urgent; and while this foreign aid was soon given with greater energy, the political horizon of the insurgents was expanded; but before a republic could proceed from it, it was necessary that a new blow should create new wants.

Alexander of Parma was regent from Oct. 1, 1578 to Dec. 2d, 1592. The Walloons were brought again under Spanish dominion by the treaty of May 21st, 1579.—The others were gradually subjected by the conquest of the cities, till the taking of Antwerp, Aug. 17th, 1585.—On the other hand, the constituted sovereignty of the United Provinces was conferred on Francis, duke of Anjou, 1581—1583, and now for the first time, all allegiance on Spain was dissolved, July 26th, 1581. But no one, who was not greater than the prince of Orange himself, could, by the side of that prince, sustain the station of sovereign. The duke of Anjou retired, June, 1583.

15. The prince was assassinated, when he seemed almost certain of the success of his long concerted plan, of being appointed by the states, count (constitutional sovereign) of Holland and Zealand. Only personal authority could conduct to it; and although his son Maurice was elected in his stead, in doing so the states of Holland and Zealand per-

formed an act of sovereignty. But under the pressure of circumstances they were now ready to submit to Elizabeth, and notwithstanding her rejection of the supreme power, what might not have taken place, had she committed the guidance of her affairs to abler hands than those of the earl of Leicester? But while in Olden Barneveld, the undaunted champion of the rights of the states took his station as grand pensionary of Holland, the future form of the republic was decided.

After the murder of William I. July 10th, 1584, Maurice was appointed stadtholder of Holland and Zealand, and afterwards recognized by four of the other provinces; a council of state however was placed at his side.—A treaty was concluded with Elizabeth, who sent a body of auxiliary infantry, receiving as pledges three harbors, but secured to the earl such an influence, that she cherished hopes of being able to rule by him.—The earl became involved in quarrels with the states, till his resignation, Dec. 1587.

16. But by far the most important result of their relations with England, not merely for the forming republic but for Europe, was the open war, in which Elizabeth was designedly involved with Spain. The common interest of the two states no longer admitted of any separation; and the defeat of the Invincible Armada not only gave the best guarantee of the independence of the republic, but, by making the ocean free, opened to both states the vast career, by which they subsequently attained the summit of their greatness and renown.

The causes of the rancor between Philip II. and Elizabeth, were founded in their religious and political relations, both in Europe and foreign countries, (see below history of colonies). The injuries done the Spanish commerce by priva-

teering, and the support, hitherto private but now public, extended to the Netherlands, created the project of conquering England, founded on the donation of the Pope, and at the same time as a sure means of quelling the insurrection of the Netherlands, 1587. The expedition of the invincible armada and its fate fall between July and Oct. 1588. And the Spanish war was continued by Elizabeth till her death, 1663.

17. Several circumstances concurred with this naval superiority to ensure the independence of the republic. The part Philip took in the French disputes, in favor of the league against Henry IV., induced him to send the duke of Parma, with the greater portion of his troops, to France. The death of this general and the accession of Henry IV. were two new supports of her independence, since Henry found it advisable to enter into an alliance with her, after having formally declared war against Spain. Thus recognized by France and England, victorious under Maurice in his battles and sieges, and mistress of the sea, what hopes could Philip yet harbor of subjecting the republic. He appeared himself convinced of this, when he gave, a short time before his death, his Netherlands, as a dowry to his daughter, Isabella Eugenia. The contest was however prolonged under his successor Philip III. till the year 1609, when, after the peace of Spain with France at Vervins, and that with James I. after the death 1603. of Elizabeth, the Netherlands were compelled to prosecute it alone; and even then, for Spain was unwilling to make too large concessions, it was interrupted not by a peace but by a truce of twelve

years, by which the independence of the republic was tacitly acknowledged.

The duke of Parma made expeditions in France, 1590—1592. He died Dec. 2d, 1592.—Henry IV. entered into an alliance with England and the Netherlands Oct. 31st, 1596, after the declaration of war against Spain 16th of Jan. 1595.—Amiens was lost and reconquered 1597. A separate peace was concluded at Vervins, May 2d, 1598. The Spanish Netherlands were conferred by Philip II. on his daughter Clara Isabella Eugenia, as a dowry, on occasion of her marriage with archduke Albert of Austria 1598.—Philip II. died 13th of Nov. 1598.—The war was feebly carried on by land under his successor Philip III., but on the ocean it was prosecuted with spirit, and a successful expedition was accomplished under James Heemskerk against the coast of Spain.—Negotiations were commenced 1607, and were continued, soon after the mediation of Henry IV. by the president Jeannin (to sustain the influence of France), though rendered very difficult by reason of the controversy respecting the religious freedom of the Catholics; and the East Indian navigation. The truce of twelve years between the archduke and Spain, was signed April 9th, 1609.

18. Thus in the midst of the monarchical political system of Europe, a republic was formed, which during her rise had become so deeply involved in the relations of this system, that she could not avoid taking an active participation in the occurrences of the world. She had arrived at an end, to which she had not aspired; her internal constitution therefore had not been changed, but amended according to the exigencies of the moment; is it strange then, that it should have been imperfectly shaped? But the preponderance of Holland caused the want of a federation to be less felt; the origin of the states general, 1592,

created a point of union for foreign affairs; and for her internal firmness she was indebted to the happy circumstance, that the dignities of stadtholder and grand pensionary of Holland constituted two situations, in which great men could act with effect. The Armenian controversies that soon ensued, which caused a rupture between the house of Orange and the states, and which brought Olden Barneveld to a scaffold, demonstrated that the republic already contained within her bosom the seeds of dissolution. 1619. May 13th.

19. But little as the origin of such a republic changed the general character of the monarchical system of Europe, it nevertheless exercised a very strong influence. Such a commercial state, such a naval force, Europe had never beheld. It was a new kind of weight, that this state threw into the political balance; and those objects therefore acquired a different value in practical politics, than they had ever before possessed. The seed of much good and evil had germinated; but as yet men were little able to distinguish what was good and what was evil in the luxuriant growth. Even in later times, how little have they learnt to make the distinction!

II. *A cursory view of the contemporary changes in the other leading states of the West of Europe, and their results.*

1. Though the revolution of the Netherlands excited the interest of the neighboring states, it did not exclusively occupy their attention. They

themselves underwent changes, which affected their domestic and foreign relations, and therefore, their political character. These changes then require to be considered before we pursue the history of the political system of Europe.

2. They originated, directly or indirectly, in the reformation. The causes of excitement, which it spread, operated differently in the several states. France, Spain, England and Germany will here especially claim attention.

1. FRANCE.

3. The present period was to France, for thirty years, the period of religious and civil wars, which threatened to overthrow the throne itself. A great prince not only rescued it from the horrors of anarchy, but in fifteeen years raised it to an elevation of power, which enabled it to meditate a political transformation of Europe; but his fall again made it the sport of faction, till Richelieu, after fourteen years, grasped the helm of state with a strong hand. But with all the confusion and vicissitudes of the period, its history turns on a few leading personages, who prove that in times of great revolutions, it is the men of great character, rather than of shrewd understanding, who direct the course of events.*

1562 to 1594.

1610.

1624.

* Davila Istoria delle guerre civili in Francia. Venezia. 1630. Numerous other editions have been published. The best French translation is by Mr. l' Abbé M. (Mallet). Amsterdam. 1757. 2 Voll. 4to. The author, in the service of France and Venice, was, generally, a contemporary of the occurrences, and took a part in them.

(Anquetil) Esprit de la ligue, on histoire politique des

4. The general aspect of the French civil war, was, indeed, that of a war of religion, but at the same time it was promoted by the respective attempts of the two chiefs to acquire the government, the king being in a state of weakness. The internal relations of the court are therefore as important, as the relations of the religious parties; for the elements of the war lay almost more in the jealousy of the Bourbons as princes of blood towards the powerful families of the nobility, especially the Guises, than in religious intolerance.

5. But when the flame once burst forth, and the Bourbons became the chiefs of the Huguenots, no speedy suppression of the flame could be expected, because it had been kindled alike by fanaticism and the personal passions of the leaders. The three first religious wars were properly but one war, interrupted each by a truce, called a peace,

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troubles de France pendant le 16 et 17 siécle. Paris. 1771. 3 Voll. 8vo. From 1559 to 1599. Very useful for self-instruction.

The contemporary memoirs that belong here are these:

Mémoires de Michael de Castelnau, servans à donner la vérité de l' histoire des regnes de François II., Charles IX. et Henri III. (from 1559 to 1570) par J. G. Laboureur. Bruxelles. 1731. fol. In the Collect. gén. T. 41—46. The observations of Laboureur have given it such a bulk.

Mémoires de Tavannes, depuis 1530 jusqu' à sa mort 1573, dressés par son fils, à Paris. 1574. 8vo. In the Collect. gén. T. 26, 27.—Important for the last years.

Mémoires de Brantome, à Leyde. 1666. Vol. I—VI. 8vo. —A lively delineation of the luxury and dissoluteness of the age, particularly among the higher classes; drawn from his own experience.

1562. Jan. 17th. because the opposite party was forced to accord to the Huguenots what the edict of the noble chancellor L' Hopital should have accorded them before the war. But fanaticism, which must always rage for its full time, retained the ascendency; and thus in such an unruly age, 1572. Aug. 24th. scenes of cruelty like the massacre of St. Bartholomew, could be prepared, which could not but defer all approximation of religious parties, even out of France, for almost a century.

The first war began March 1562, and was terminated by the edict of Amboise, March 19th, 1563.—The second war began Sept. 1567, and was terminated by the peace at Longjumeau, March 23d, 1568.—The third war began Sept. 1568, and ended in the peace of St. Germain en Laye, Aug. 8th, 1570. The massacre of St. Bartholomew caused the fourth war, which was terminated by the peace of Rochelle, June 24th, 1573.

6. These first wars had already occasioned the interference of foreign powers, since both Elizabeth and some German princes had extended aid to the Huguenots. But the convulsion did not become actually important for general politics, till the weak- 1576. May. ness of the miserable Henry III. at the close of the fifth war of religion, gave rise to the league, an association of Jacobins, which only bore the color of the age. For a chief, like Henry of Guise, the throne itself was the object; and why 1588. May. 23d Dec. did he not prosecute his schemes, when at the flight of the king it stood in reality vacant within his grasp? He soon fell the victim of an assassin; but the question respecting the future succession now engrossed the attention, not only of France, but also of foreign coun-

tries, since Henry of Bourbon was a Huguenot, and by the murder of the last Valois, the rightful heir of the throne. But he had to enforce his rights by the sword; and though he received some assistance from foreigners, it was the interference of strangers, which rendered the conflict arduous and long. Not even his abjuration could induce either Philip II. or the Pope to give up their plans. But the Bourbons retained the throne, for a great man stood at their head.

Though the league existed as early as 1576, and had repeatedly broken out in commotions 1577 and 1579, (6th —7th wars), its full operation began from the time, when the extinction of the Valois with Henry III. was certain, after the death of Francis, duke of Alençon, (Anjou) June 10th, 1584. Hence its renewal, its centre in Paris by means of the sixteen, and the edict of Nemours forcibly obtained against the Huguenots, July 7th, 1585, of which the eighth war, 1585—1595, that terminated after the capture of Paris, March 22d, 1594, was the consequence. The negotiations with the Pope could be successfully terminated only under so great a diplomatist, as the Cardinal d'Ossat.

7. Though France was thus saved from anarchy, the sources of these disturbances was not yet closed. Neither of the two parties was annihilated; and that of the Huguenots without secure political existence. But the fanaticism was in some measure cooled; and, thanks to the compacts concluded since L' Hopital,—the idea of toleration had not perished amid the convulsions; a ruler, who like Henry IV. was possessed of confidence might effect much; and thus the edict of Nantes was possible, which secured the rights of the Huguenots. The parties however remained

1598. April 13th.

in arms; and the preservation of their rights depended more on the personal character of the monarch and the circumstances of the times, than on the edict. Beneficial as was the influence of the Huguenots in almost every branch of culture, the internal constitution could hardly acquire a stable character, so long as the government had to fear an opposition, which could so easily be abused by ambitious partizans.

8. But greater stability was given to the forms of foreign policy; and the uninterrupted influence of France on the political system of Europe, was perceptible immediately on its regeneration. The hatred of Spain, whose excessive power was the dread of Europe, took deeper root than ever, on account of Philip's crafty conduct during the disturbances. Scarcely was quiet restored in France, when open war was declared, somewhat prematurely, against Philip the II., of which an alliance with England, (effected not without difficulty,) and Holland, was soon a consequence. To rise above the relations of religion, was the constant superiority of French policy.

War was begun with Spain 1595, and terminated by a separate peace at Vervins, May 2d, 1598. A mutual restitution was made of conquests (see above page 97). An end was thereby put to Philip's ambitious views on France.

9. With the consciousness of power, increasing under Sully's administration, new projects were formed, which concerned not France merely, but were to change the whole system of Europe. The idea of what was termed an European republic, or a union of states, the members of which should be

equal in power though dissimilar in form, and submit their controversies to the decision of a senate, seems to have been an idea, long and deeply meditated. A prince, who had grown up in the midst of a revolution, which he had himself terminated victoriously, would be highly susceptible of revolutionary projects, and with him, his whole age. But did the project spring immediately and solely from his hatred of Spain and Austria, or was it the result of the deep reflection of a lofty mind, which foreboded the certain approach of a general crisis, such as the thirty years' war soon introduced, and wished to make himself in season the master of its course and to render it beneficial for Europe? However that may be, the humiliation of the house of Hapsburg was certainly the proximate object, and the republic, so called, stood in the back- 1610. May 14th. ground, as a favorite idea. The whole project was ripe for execution, when it was frustrated by the dagger of the assassin Ravaillac.

An estimate of the project and its practicability, according to Sulla's accounts. Preparations had been made in England, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. The general hatred against Spain was the impelling motive, and the vacant succession of Cleves and Juliers was to supply a pretext. The five elective kingdoms and the concession of the two Indies to Spain may furnish later politicians with matter for sarcasm; but the moderation of Henry offers in return a weighty lesson.

10. Unfortunate for France as was the murder of Henry, it is difficult to say how far it was so for Europe. It saved her for the present from a great war, the issue of which must have been the more

uncertain, because the aim was so remote. But with him, and the removal of Sully by the storm of court factions, which were rekindled even by the civil wars, France, under Mary of Medici, lost almost all foreign influence. What was it to other countries, whether a marshal d' Ancre or a Luynes guided the helm of state? Happy was it, that other countries knew not how to take advantage of this. But as soon as Richelieu seized it, with a firm hand, a new, vigorous influence began to be exerted over the political system of Europe.* 1621.

2. SPAIN.

11. Spain, yet more than France, acquired during this period, a fixed character, through Philip II. Never before were Catholicism and its maintenance so much the basis of politics, and so it remained. The consequences with respect to foreign relations, were wars with half of Europe, France, the Netherlands, England; all to no purpose! But could it be fortunate for the nation itself, that the great revolution in the ideas of the age found no access to it? Was not the refraining from all the advantages, which elsewhere proceeded from it, a great loss? Was not the state of rest in itself retrograde?

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* Histoire de la mère et du fils, c' est à dire de Marie de Medicis femme du grand Henry; et mère de Louis XIII. par L. F. Mezeray, (or rather by Richelieu,) à Amsterdam. 1730. 2 Voll. 12mo. It goes to 1620.

Vie de Marie de Medicis, Reine de France et de Navarre. à Paris. 1774. 3 Voll. 8vo.

12. The treasures of America were, therefore, certainly not the causes of the decline of Spain; it was the fetters imposed on the intellect, the claims to the dominion of the sea, the mixing in all the disputes of its neighbors without deriving any advantage; and even the only successful project, the conquest of Portugal, was a misfortune for Spain.

Portugal and its colonies were usurped after the extinction of the male line there, 1580. If the powers of the state increased in proportion to the square miles and number of souls, the splendid period of Spain must now have begun.*

13. It was Philip II., therefore, that made Spain what it has since remained. The expulsion of the Moors, gave it a new blow; and the government of ministers, which, at once under Philip III., was becoming a maxim, tended to accelerate the downfal, since the ruling ministers were never very successfully chosen.† 1610. 1598 to 1621.

3. ENGLAND.

14. England, no less, during this period acquired its character as a state; and to have given it this character, is eminently the great merit of Elizabeth. Here too, religion was the basis, but the protestant religion; preserving however the hierarchical forms as a support of the throne, since the king was declared the supreme head of the

* Luis Cabrera de Cordoua, Historia del Rey D. Felipe II.; en Madrid. 1719. fol.

The history of Philip II. king of Spain, by Rob. Watson. London. 1777. 2 Voll. 4to. But little else than an account of external wars.

† History of the reign of Philip III. by Watson. London. 1783. 4to. The two last books are supplied by the editor.

hierarchy. Religion thus entered most deeply into the constitution; and the conviction, that both must stand or fall together, became more and more deeply rooted in the nation.

15. These circumstances established of themselves the continental relations. Elizabeth was the opponent of Philip II. and it was the conflict with Spain, that called forth all the energies of the nation and founded its greatness by driving it upon the sea. Thus the protestant religion was the foundation of British power. The interest of the government and nation was one; and Elizabeth's successor, though apparently more powerful by the possession of Scotland, by attempting to separate them, prepared his own ruin.*

4. GERMANY.

16. The present period was less fruitful in Germany, in single occurrences, engaging the attention of the rest of Europe; but since religion had become the living principle of politics, the country, which was its cradle, could not lose its political importance. While the two parties after the peace were watching each other with distrust, which petty occurrences increased, it was felt in foreign countries, that a war, breaking out here, must almost necessarily become universal. The personal character of the emperors, both Ferdinand I.

* Besides the chapters in the general works of Hume and Rapin, we mention:

Camdeni Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha; Lond. 1675.

De Keralio, Histoire d' Elizabeth, reine d' Angleterre. Paris. 1786. T. V.

(†1564) and his mild son Maximilian II. (†1576), contributed much towards preserving the peace; and Rudolph II. (†1612) was willing to leave the world undisturbed, if the world would but leave him in quiet.

17. But this was nevertheless the period, when the great storm was prepared. Although the continual collisions could not fail to give rise to small causes of controversy, the Jesuits, who had established themselves in Austria since Rudolph II. contributed essentially towards inflaming the hatred. The consequences were associations on both sides, the evangelical union under the electorate of the Palatinate, and the Catholic league under Bavaria; both weak in themselves, but dangerous for the future; and the latter formidable for having a head like the Duke Maximilian. Such being the situation of affairs, the competition for a small German country, like Juliers, Cleves and Berg, was able to expose, not Germany merely, but Europe, to the dangers of a general war, which was only suppressed by the murder of Henry IV. and the internal dissensions in the house of Austria, when the indolent Rudolph II. was gradually driven from the possession of all his possessions by his brother Mathias. But the farther developement of the relations of this house, since the succession had already been secured under Mathias, to the bigoted Ferdinand of Stiria, and a closer connexion with the Spanish line had likewise been introduced, could disclose nothing but the most melancholy prospects.

1608. May 4th. 1609. Aug. 30th.

The vacancy of Juliers, Cleves and Berg, in March 1609, caused at first a contest between Saxony, Brandenburg and Palatinate Neuburg, the two last of which put themselves in possession, and remained so, after the treaty at Xanten, Nov. 12th, 1614. But it was the interference of foreign powers, that made the quarrel so important, since *a.* the emperor sequestrated the country, *b.* Henry IV. joined the union against it, and after his murder *c.* the contest arising between the princes who were in possession, involved Holland and Spain.

18. Happily for the west of Europe, the relations in the east during this period were less menacing, though not much more peaceful. The wild spirit of conquest of the Port perished with Solyman II. His successors, educated in the seraglio, were hardly to be seen at the head of armies, and the nation itself underwent those changes, which no nomadic people, that has hitherto existed, has escaped; although no sudden weakness ensued. Thus Austria attained by slow but progressive steps to the full possession of Hungary; but the relations of Transylvania, which insisted on having its own princes, was a source of contests; and yet greater might be foreseen from the introduction of the new tenets, although liberty of worship was allowed, where they were adopted, 1606.

Solyman II. died during his campaign in Hungary, Sept. 4th, 1566.—A truce was concluded for eight years, and repeatedly prolonged till 1593. The Turks still retained a great part of southern Hungary.—The grand victory over their fleet, after the conquest of Cyprus, by the Venetians and Spaniards, at Lepanto, Oct. 7th, 1572, deprived them of the preponderance on the sea.—The Hungarian war was renewed 1593—1606; most of the fortresses fell into the hands of the Austrians; although in the truce of twenty years 1606, the Turks retained some of them.

19. Politics appear, in this period, by no means under an improved aspect; under the controlling influence of fanaticism, they but too often allowed the adoption of any measures which that fanaticism pronounced good. Although some distinguished individuals, Henry, Orange, and Elizabeth, rose above the age, did they not always see themselves surrounded by the conspiracies of assassins, to which some of them fell as victims? The influence of the priesthood was unfortunately greater than it had ever been before; and the Jesuits were not the only ones who abused it. What the spirit of intolerance can do, even among protestants, was but too clearly shown by Holland and Saxony.

20. Political economy attracted more attention in this period than in the former, because necessity demanded it. In France it had its Sully, and Elizabeth felt its importance, but the arrangements of the Hollanders had the greatest influence on foreign lands.

What was Sully's system? No other than that of order and frugality. He was a great reformer, because great abuses were prevalent; and an elevated strength of character supported his correct insight into affairs. Modern schools should not refer to him; he knew nothing of their sublime speculations. His rule was, not general positions, but what was expedient for France and what not. Happy was it for his fame, that the direction of private activity on the part of governments, was then so much less the fashion.*

* Memoires des royales Oeconomies d' etat par Max. de Bethune, duc de Sully. First edition. 1650—1662. 4 Voll. fol. The last perfect one is Londres. 1778. 10 Voll. 12mo. (The edition par Mr. D. L. D. L. (de l' Ecluse de Loges) Londres, is not merely reduced to a modern style,

The system of indirect taxation was first perfected in Holland. The exigencies of the last war were met by the excise, which other states afterwards introduced, and which could not but become so much the more important for modern Europe, since its revenues increased in the same proportion as luxury.

21. Many circumstances operated in favor of the advancement of the art of war. The system of standing armies was further matured in France and Holland; by Henry IV. on account of his situation, as also his grand projects; in the Netherlands, by necessity during the long war. But nevertheless, France had in peace not more than 14,000, the republic scarcely 20,000 men. The talents of such great generals as Henry, Maurice and Alexander of Parma, could not be without important gain for tactics; it was however the art of besieging, that was especially perfected. But the naval power of England and Holland was an entirely new phenomenon. The royal marine of Britain, founded by Henry VIII. first grew into importance under Elizabeth; and the Dutch naval power, by that of the states, and soon by that of the great commercial companies, became formidable.

III. *History of Colonial Affairs from* 1556 *to* 1618.

1. The colonial affairs of the Europeans, and the general commerce, founded on them, suffered

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but re-modelled in a totally different form).—A treasure for posterity!

Eloges de Sully et des Oeconomies royales par Mirabeau. 1789. 2 Voll. 8vo.

during this period the most important changes. These were principally caused by the monopolizing pretensions of the Spaniards, which led other nations to jealousy and from thence to wars. It was the period, when *a.* the establishments of the Portuguese in the East Indies fell to pieces; when on the other hand, *b.* the Dutch reared theirs and usurped the commerce of the world, while *c.* the English likewise began to become their rivals. But *d.* a different form was given both to commerce and colonial politics, by the establishment of the great privileged companies.

2. The subversion of the Portuguese dominion in the East Indies had already been prepared for a long time by internal causes, and was now accelerated by others from abroad. The former consisted in the decline of morality, with which the spirit of heroism and patriotism among the higher classes had perished, and in avarice and sensuality which in the Indies were carried to such a shameless extent, that the Portuguese name excited horror. As the sole desire of each one was to enrich himself alone, the Indies soon came to cost the king more than they yielded. But in the organization of the administration, there also were doubtless deficiencies which hastened the downfal.

The leading deficiencies of the Portuguese Indian administration seem to have been the following. *a.* The very frequent, (at least triennial), changes of viceroys, which were usually attended by a change of most of the officers. The offices were therefore triennial benefices. *b.* The restrictions, which gradually became greater and greater, of the power of the viceroys; partly by the council placed at their side,

partly by the division into three independent governments, Monomotapa, India, and Malacca, by King Sebastian. *c.* Commerce, which, left free to the civil and military officers, degenerated into monopolies, that were often very oppressive. *d.* The defective administration of justice; modelled altogether after that of the mother country. From the decisions of the highest tribunal (Relaçaon), there was, with few exceptions, no appeal. *e.* The overwhelming influence of the clergy, who, by their wealth, made themselves the head of every thing; and the constraints of the inquisition, which was no where stricter than in Goa.*

3. To these internal causes, other foreign ones were added, even before the Dutch appeared there. It was with trouble that the Portuguese sustained 1571. the attacks of the native princes; and the 1581. union with Spain was in itself an evil for the possessions there, since they were subsequently not only neglected, but also exposed to the attacks of the enemies of Spain.

Macao in China was obtained 1585, in consideration of services rendered against the pirates. As the centre of the trade with China, and especially with Japan, the settlement was of great importance.

4. Brazil soon had to feel the consequences of this union, for it was made the object of English

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Observaçoes sobre las principaes causas da decadencia dos Portuguezes ne Asia, escritos por Diogo do Gouto, en forma de dialogo com o titulo de *Soldado pratico*, publicadas de orden da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa, por Antonio Caetano do Amaral. Lisboa. 1790.—The author, himself a commander in India, wrote his work in the form of a dialogue between a soldier who had returned, and one who had been appointed governor in Goa 1606. It remained in manuscript till the academy purchased and printed it. This is a source, hitherto unknown, for acquiring an exact knowledge of the miserable administration.

freebooters. French bucaniers too had tried a settlement on the charming island Maranham. But being soon driven away by the Portuguese, 1612. the ymade themselves masters of the northern regions, round the mouths of the river Maragnon; from whence arose the governments Gram 1614. Para and Maranham. The strong exertions of the Jesuits to convert the natives were unhappily rendered of no avail by the crimes of the colonists, who made them slaves.

Belem, the capital of Gram Para, was founded, and the mouths of the river Maragnon explored 1618.

5. The possessions in Africa and those in Brazil mutually influenced each other, since the former furnished slaves only for the latter. The animosities, which were thus caused, led to the establishment of St. Paolo di Loanda, and 1578. thence to the subjugation of Congo and Angola, which it was intended to secure by missions.

6. Spain gave to her colonial system an important addition, not only by the acquisition of the Portuguese possessions, but also by the usurpation of the Philippine islands in the East Indies. What might not these islands have become, through the communication with India and China on the one side, and with the rich Mexico and Peru on the other, had not the anxious limitations of commerce prevented?

Possession was taken of the Philippines, 1564, for founding missions. Luçon, the principal island, was occupied 1572, and Manilla laid out. The administration was committed to a viceroy; but the cloisters were the principal landed proprietors.—A regular trade was established in 1572 between Acapulco and Manilla by means of only one or

two ships (the galleons of the South sea,) despatched once a year.—Great losses accrued thence to the government, and complaints were made, respecting the silver exported from Mexico.—Religion only prevented the total abandonment of the islands.*

7. But while the Spaniards, now masters of the Portuguese colonies, claimed the sole dominion of the two Indies and their seas, two new nations appeared as competitors, the Dutch and the English, and tore from them that, which, from its very nature, could not be maintained. During their conflict for liberty, the Dutch had already succeeded in putting themselves in possession of the commerce of the world; their activity was restricted by no rules; they were soon aware, that the Indian was the principal branch, and Philip's interdict hastened the execution. The first voyage, successfully accomplished by Cornelius Hautman, roused a universal emulation, to participate in this trade, while several free companies were formed for the purpose.

1595.

In order to elucidate the phenomenon of the trade of Holland, prospering amid the clash of arms, we must remark, *a.* that the states of Holland had for a long time carried on a considerable commercial intercourse both with the east and west of Europe, and possessed very important fisheries; but that now *b.* a spirit of adventure was awakened by the privateerings of the exiles on the water; and it was found out how

* The regulations respecting the Philippines, made by Philip II. and afterwards those by Philip III. are to be found in the Leyes, especially L. IX. No other king ever made so many regulations in the colonies as Philip II. and yet the only new institution introduced there by him was the inquisition (see p. 76). The regulation on this subject may be found in the Leyes, l. I. tit. 19.

weak the Spaniards were on the sea ; *c.* that when the port of Lisbon was closed against the Netherlands in 1594, they saw themselves forced to the alternative, to lose their carrying trade in Indian goods, or import them, themselves from India. Finally *d.* many capitalists removed from the Belgic to the Batavian cities.*

8. Origin of the Dutch East Indian company, and its organization. It lay in the nature of things, that the sphere of action of this powerful corporation should be gradually formed; but the leading features of its constitution were immediately developed. In accordance with its first concession of privileges, afterwards constantly renewed, it was a political as well as a mercantile body, in the latter respect wholly independent, in the former but little more than nominally subordinate to the states general.

Its first privilege was granted, March 29th, 1602, by which it acquired *a.* the monopoly of Dutch trade beyond the cape and the straits of Magellan, *b.* the right of managing all political transactions and of making settlements in India. The funds of the company consisted in stock to the amount of about 6 1-2 millions of guilders; it was divided into six chambers, of which the one at Amsterdam alone had a half, the one at Zealand one fourth of the whole. The company in Holland was governed by a board of seventeen directors or managers, (selected from the greater board of the sixty directors of the separate chambers), who had the chief direction of its affairs. Each chamber took care of its own concerns, the fitting out of its ships, its own purchases and sales. In India, since 1610, a governor general was ap-

* Besides the works mentioned p. 30, 31,
Geschichte des Hollandischen Handels, nach Luzak's Hollands Rykdom bearbeitet von A. F. Lüder. Leipzig. 1788.

pointed, or supreme civil and military magistrate, at whose side stood the council of the Indies; out of the members of which were chosen the governors and the governors general. The number of governors naturally increased with the enlargement of the conquests.*

9. In as far as settlements and possessions in India itself were necessary for the prosecution of the Indian trade, the establishment of the company seems justified; these could then be effected neither by private persons nor by the state. And who at that time knew the evils, inseparable from monopolies?—Though the company did at last sink under them, it nevertheless remains less on account of the extent than the permanency of its prosperity, —an unparallelled phenomenon, which was no where possible but among a people, who could become rich, very rich, without becoming luxurious.

10. The prevalent maxims of the company were soon developed. The strict maintenance of its monopoly, a strict supervision of its officers, an entire prohibition of any trade on their part, the promotion according to merit, but never except regularly, as well as the most punctual payment, —were the means, by which it soon rose so high, that Holland derived a great portion of its riches through this channel. In its settlements in India, it at first employed islands, the Molucca and Sunda

* History of the H. D. I. Company, in the Hallischen Allg. Welt-Historie. B. 26.—The materials of its history are scattered, partly in the works on the commerce of Holland, partly in travels in and descriptions of the East Indies.

Geschichte des Holländischen Colonialwesens in Ostindien; vom F. Saalfeld. 2. B. 8vo. Götting. 1813.—The writer enjoyed the use of hitherto unknown but official accounts respecting the state of the finances.

islands, where Batavia on Java was already fixed as the centre of its Indian sovereignty. By confining itself afterwards mostly to the islands, it escaped the various revolutions of the continent of India, where at that time the Mongolian empire was so powerful, that the thought of making conquests could not be entertained.

Though the Dutch were obliged to settle in India with arms in their hands, they were aided by the general hatred of the Portuguese.—Establishments were made at Amboina, Banda, Ternate and Tidor, since 1607.—Commerce with Japan was opened 1611.—A settlement had existed on Java since 1618, and Jacatra was taken and destroyed, when Batavia was founded there in its stead by Koen, 1619.

11. The rapid prosperity of this company created every where a prejudice in favor of such institutions, so that by degrees, several of the most important branches of the commerce of the republic were committed to privileged associations. But though these monopolies were injurious, the extraordinary variety of means of gain caused the injury to be less felt. The whole proud structure of the manufacturing, commercial and colonial system of the Netherlands, was then displayed in all its parts, but was not finished till the ensuing period.

12. England too under Elizabeth came forward as a successful competitor in commerce. Having carried on for centuries a considerable traffic with its neighbors, it was natural that it should extend its enterprise to remoter countries. The trade, begun with Persia, by way of Russia, first enlarged the horizon, till it reached the two Indies. But the pretensions and resistance of the Spaniards in

those seas, necessarily excited a continued contest. But for a long time (till the war of 1588), nothing but piracy and privateering was prosecuted, urged on by the rich returning cargoes of the Spanish, but in all the seas, and even to the circumnavigation of the earth.

A commerce had been commenced since 1553 with Russia by way of Archangel, favored by Czar Iwan Basilewitz; and over the Caspian sea to Persia and even to India.—Vain attempts were made to discover a northeast or northwest passage, especially by Forbisher, Davis, Hudson, etc. 1576 to 1610. Drake accomplished a voyage round the world 1577—1580. The first English voyage to India, round the Cape, was made 1591.*

13. But with the revival of remote foreign commerce, the spirit of monopoly also revived in England; and no one was more liberal in imparting it than Elizabeth. The principal branches of foreign commerce were conferred on privileged companies; there were formed the Russian, the African,
1554. the Turkish (Levant) companies, and that of
1581. adventurers on the continent. It was in entire accordance with the spirit of this system, that the commerce with the East Indies was committed exclusively to a company, who, however, like the former, were to have mercantile only and not political aims.

The old East India company received its privileges, Dec. 31st, 1600. It received,—like the Dutch a short time after,—the exclusive right of trading to all the countries and places, situated beyond the cape and the straits of Magellan, and not yet occupied by any European power. The first voyage was made under Lancaster to Achem on Sumatra, and Ban-

* A. Anderson's historical deduction, etc. see page 31.

tam on Java 1601; and commercial treaties were concluded with the native princes.—But possessing nothing but factories at Bantam, Achem, etc. and especially at Surat, since 1612, on account of the Persian trade, and no forts, it could not sustain the emulation of the Dutch especially on the Moluccas, the common aim of both; and its business remained very limited.*

14. But in this period, the beginning was made by the British, of settlements in the west, on the coast of North America, which, if they flourished, would necessarily receive an entirely different character from the others. The great obstacles, which the savage nature of the country and natives, threw in the way, could be overcome only by the most persevering activity; but was it not this, which laid the foundation of a structure that was to endure for ages?

Attempts, though unsuccessful, had been made under Elizabeth since 1578, in the hopes of finding countries rich in gold, especially under Raleigh in 1583 and 1587. But a society for this purpose was first chartered by James I., after the peace with Spain. The London and Plymouth companies were chartered 1606. The former for the southern portion of the coast (Virginia, 34°—41° N. lat.) the other for the northern (New England 42°—45°). But Virginia was the only colony that flourished. Jamestown, the first

* Annals of the honorable East India Company, from their establishment by the charter of Queen Elizabeth 1600, to the union of the London and English East India Companies 1707—1708. by John Bruce, Esq. keeper of his Majesty's state papers, and historiographer to the honorable East India Company. Voll. I—III. London. 1810. 4to. A simple account, arranged in the order of time and drawn altogether from the archives and therefore the leading work for the history of the first, or London company.

town, was founded on the Chesapeake bay, 1607. Tobacco was cultivated and negroes introduced since 1616.—The Bermuda islands were occupied by the London company 1612. But the colonies suffered too severely under the pressure of the company to prosper. The colonists however brought with them a taste for free constitutions. In 1619, the first general assembly was convened and a constitution modelled after that of the mother country. Quarrels arose between the king and the company, which was abolished 1624. The prosperity of the Newfoundland fishery was connected with their undertakings. The whale fishery of Greenland was pursued with the greatest success by the English, after the year 1600.*

15. Though these experiments were but a weak beginning, they necessarily led, in connexion with the pretensions of the Portuguese and Spaniards, to the maintenance of the freedom of the sea, which England and Holland defended with the sword, Grotius with the pen. An unlimited field for the future was now opened for practical politics ; but the immediate influence of the colonies upon them could not yet be so great, because all those undertakings were private, which government permitted, without affording them any farther encouragement. It was yet some time, ere privateering and hostilities in the colonies were followed by wars between the mother states.†

* W. Robertson History of America, Books IX. and X. containing the history of Virginia to the year 1688 ; and of New England to the year 1652. Lond. 1796. The best account of the beginning of the British settlements.

[A history of the Colonies, planted by the English on the continent of North America, from their settlement to the commencement of that war which terminated in their Independence. By John Marshall. 8vo.]

† Hug. Grotius mare liberum, sive de jure quod Batavis competit ad Indiae commercia, Dissertatio. Lugd. Bat. 1618.

16. France too made attempts at colonization, but the few which did not altogether fail, were more important for the future than the present. They were confined to North America, where, since the commencement of the seventeenth century, the settlements in Canada (New France) and Acadia acquired greater firmness by the foundation of Quebec. But the culture of the soil was less the real object, than the trade in peltry and the fisheries. 1608.

Fourth Period. From 1618 *to* 1660.*

1. The period of such great and universal wars, as the present, necessarily involved the interests of the European states more closely, than was possible in the former; with the exception of England, which for a long time was isolated by its internal convulsions. The causes of this lay *a.* in the much closer connexion, which, on Ferdinand's accession to the throne, was restored between the Spanish and Austrian lines, and which was yet more cemented by the influence of the Jesuits at the two courts, *b.* in the policy of Richelieu directed against the house of Hapsburg, and his extensive influence in Europe, *c.* in the effect which these circumstances had, to implicate the northern powers, especially Sweden, in the disputes of southern Europe.

2. The religious and political interests of this period remained as closely interwoven as before;

* As a general leading work till 1637, see Khevenhüller, page 83.

and the former continued to be the lever of the latter. The commotions originated therefore, for the most part, in the reformation, but if these in the former period agitated rather the single states, they now shook the whole political system of Europe, and were followed by more general consequences.

I. *History of the thirty years' war and its results till the peace of Westphalia and the Pyrenees.**

3. The thirty years' war rendered Germany the centre of European politics. It was not however a war, carried on from beginning to end with one plan and for one sole purpose. Who at its commencement could have foreseen its duration and extent? But a vast quantity of combustible matter was every where accumulated; more than one

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* The history of the thirty years' war constitutes a section in the works on the history of the German empire; but it is generally considered in its bearings on public law. It still remains to treat it from a higher point, with reference to Europe and the age. The works that are deserving of mention are:

Histoire des guerres et négociations qui précéderent le traité de Westphalie composée sur les mémoires du Compte d' Avaux par Guil. Hiacynthe Bougeant. Paris. 1751. 3 Voll. 4to. The author was a Jesuit. The two last parts contain the history of the treaty of peace.

J. C. Krause Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kregs und Westphälischen Friedens. Halle. 1782. 8vo.

Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs, von Fr. Schiller. Leipzig. 1802. 2 Thle. 8vo.

Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs von Lorenz Westenrieder, in the historical Calender of Munic, 1804 to 1806. Not without original inquiries and views.

war was amalgamated with it: and the sad truth was more than ever confirmed, that war feeds itself.

The causes of the great extent and duration of this war, consisted in general *a.* in the participation which the German league took in it. *b.* In the renewal since 1621 of the war between Holland and Spain, which war became interwoven with the German. *c.* In the implication of the northern powers, especially Sweden, since 1635.—These however were only the external causes. It would not have continued so long, without the internal causes, the spirit of religious faction, the consequent dissolution of the constitution of the empire, (no diet was convened after 1613;) and the projects and hopes, which were gradually formed in all quarters.

4. Though the war which first broke out in Bohemia, concerned the house of Austria only, yet by its originating in religious disputes, by its peculiar character as a war of religion, and by the measures adopted both by the insurgents and the emperor, it acquired such an extent, that even the quelling of the insurrection was unable to put a stop to it.

The party of the protestants (utraquistae,) spread throughout Bohemia as well as Austria and Hungary, when Bethlem Gabor, Vaivode of Transylvania, usurped the throne by their co-operation. The first disturbances broke out in Prague, caused by the abuses of the imperial governor, May 23d, 1618, and the war was begun under Mathias †20th of March, 1619. His successor Ferdinand II. revolted and the crown of Bohemia was bestowed on the elector Ferdinand V. of the Palatinate, Sept. 3d.—As the head of the protestant union, as the son in law of James I., and as the ally of Bethlem Gabor, he had sufficient resources both within and without Germany if he had but known how to use them.—

The counter movements of Ferdinand II. were highly judicious, while he, already in alliance with Spain, drew in the League also by the compact with Maximilian of Bavaria (Oct. 8th), gains Saxony to his own interest, and renders the Union impotent. Even before the defeat on the White mountain, Nov. 8th, 1620, the fate of Frederic V. could be regarded as decided.—Bohemia was subjected, its privileges annihilated and the most horrible revenge was taken.*

5. Though the Bohemian war was apparently terminated, yet the flame had communicated to Germany and Hungary; and new fuel was added by the act of proscription, promulgated against the elector Frederic and his adherents. From it the war derived that revolutionary character, which was hence forward peculiar to it; it was a step that could not but lead further, for the question was practically stated, how stood the relation between the emperor and the states? and new and bolder projects were revived in Vienna as in Madrid, where it was resolved to renew the war with the Netherlands. The suppression of the protestant religion, and the overthrow of German and Dutch liberty appeared inseparable in consequence of the relations of the age; and the success of the arms of the imperial league, to which the Spanish were joined, gave animation to hopes.

A declaration of proscription was published against Elector Frederic, Jan. 22d, 1621, and the electorate was conferred

* Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs nach ungedruckten Papieren, von C. W. Breyer. Munich. 1811. First volume, from 1516 to 1521, and unhappily the last. In reality a history of Maximilian of Bavaria, and the part he took in the war, according to the annals and private correspondence; with many disclosures respecting the internal and particularly the psychological connexion.

on Bavaria, Feb. 25th, 1623.—The union was dissolved and the war transferred to the Palatinate, the hereditary realm of Frederic, with the aid of Spanish troops under Spinola from the United Provinces.—Tilly, though at first defeated by Ernst of Mansfeld at Wisloch, April 29th, 1622, achieved a victory over the margrave of Baden at Wimpfen, May 6th, and over Christian of Brunswick at Hochst, June 20th, and all the Palatinate was subdued. But the undaunted Ernst and Christian gave not up all for lost, while hopes from England continued, and Lower Germany proffered support and aid.

6. The spreading of the war to lower Saxony, the home of the protestant religion in Germany, the states of which country had appointed Christian IV. of Denmark, as duke of Holstein, head of their alliance, had already, though without any beneficial result, involved the north, and caused the Danish war. But far more important for the whole course and character of the war, was the elevation of Albert of Wallenstein to the dignity of duke of Friedland and imperial general of an army raised by himself. Henceforth, the war was necessarily a war of revolution. The peculiar situation of the general, the manner of the formation as well as the support of his army, must render it such. What place was there for him and his plans, whatever they might be, in the old order of things?

The Danish war lasted from 1625—1629.—Christian IV. was defeated at Lutter, Aug. 27th, 1626, while Wallenstein drives the count of Mansfield from the Elbe to Hungary, where he dies Nov. 30th.—The war was prosecuted against Christian IV. principally by Wallenstein, who made himself master in 1628 of the countries on the Baltic, as far as Stralsund. Peace was concluded with Christian IV. at Lubeck, in consideration of the restitution of his lands,

but he renounced all interest in the German disputes as king of Denmark, and sacrificed his allies, especially the dukes of Mecklenburg, May 12th, 1629.

7. The distinguished success of the imperial arms in the north of Germany disclosed however the bold schemes of Wallenstein. He did not come forward as conqueror, but by the investiture of Mecklenburg, as a state of the empire, and ruling prince. The age was already accustomed to the changes of the legal state of possession. Coronets were already siezed; why not crowns?

The dukes of Mecklenburg were put under the ban, Jan. 19th, 1628, and Wallenstein immediately invested with their territories.—He held possession of Pomerania also, and was called general of the Baltic.—The dominion of the Baltic, which it was hoped might be maintained by the Hanseatic towns, was to be directed against Denmark and Sweden, and who could say what were his ulterior projects?

8. But the elevation and conduct of this new man exasperated and oppressed the catholic no less than the protestant states, especially the league and its chief; all implored peace and Wallenstein's discharge. Thus at the diet of the electors at
1630. Augsburg, the emperor was reduced to the
July. alternative of resigning him or his allies. He chose the former. Wallenstein was dismissed and the majority of his army disbanded, and Tilly was nominated commander in chief of the forces of the emperor and the league.*

* (A. S. Stumpf.) Diplomatische Geschichte der Deutschen ligue, im 17ten Jahrhundert. Mit Urkunden. Erfurt. 1800. 8vo. One of the most important contributions to the critical history of this war.

9. On the side of the emperor, sufficient care was taken to prolong the war. The refusal to restore the unfortunate Frederic and even the sale of his upper Palatinate to Bavaria, must with justice have excited the apprehensions of the other princes. But when the Jesuits finally succeeded, not only in extorting the edict of restitution, but also in causing it to be enforced in the most odious manner, the catholic states themselves saw with disapprobation, that peace could not exist. 1629. Mar. 9th.

The edict of restitution contained the two principal points, that 1. according to the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* (see p. 63), the property confiscated since the treaty of Passau should be restored, and 2. the religious peace, (all appearance of opposing which was assiduously avoided) should be extended to such only, as had approved of the confession of Augsburg, but not to the reformed party. What then, may be asked, still remained to the protestants? But the mode of execution, by means of imperial troops, produced almost more bittterness, than the edict itself.

10. The greater the success was, that the house of Austria experienced, the more active was foreign policy in counteracting it. From the beginning England had taken an interest in the fate of Frederic V., though this interest was evinced by little, except fruitless negotiations. The implication of Denmark was mostly the work of England and Holland. But since Richelieu ruled in France, he had been active against Austria and Spain. He had at the same time employed Spain by the contests respecting Veltelin, and Austria soon after by the war respecting Mantua. Willingly would he have de- 1624. 1626. 1627 to 1630.

tached the German league from the interest of the emperor; and though he failed in this, he promoted the fall of Wallenstein.

The interference of France in the disputes between Spain and the Grisons, respecting Veltelin, important on account of its situation, was terminated advantageously for France and the Grisons by the treaty at Monçon, March 5th 1626.—The Mantuan war of succession was carried on in favor of the duke of Nevers, with Austria 1627—1630, which remained in possession by the treaty of Chierasco, April 6th, 1631. Thus the supremacy of Spain in Italy was again broken, and the influence of France there restored, which retained possession of the boundary fortresses Pignerol and Casale.

11. Yet the influence of Richelieu on the war was much more important, from the essential share he had in Gustavus Adolphus' active participation in it, however little it was a part of his plan, that the person, whom he expected to use merely as an instrument, should appear to wish almost to reverse the relation. Notwithstanding the nineteen years, already passed of his reign, and the Polish war (see below) almost as long, who, on his appearance in Germany, estimated, according to his real worth, the gifted hero, that soon, if not immediately, demonstrated, what, in the decisive victory of protestantism in Germany, might be accomplished for the victor?

1630.

Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany, June 24th, 1630, and an alliance, almost forced, was formed between the leading states of the Upper Saxon circle, Pomerania, July 20th, Brandenburg, May 4th, 1631, and Saxony (which endeavored in vain to maintain its independence by a league of neutrality at Leipzig, March, 1631), but not without measures for the future acquisition of Pomerania. A subsidiary treaty was concluded with France, Jan. 13th, 1631, at

Bärenwalde, and previously a voluntary alliance with William, landgrave of Hesse, Nov. 9th, 1630.—After the horrible fate of Magdeburg May 10th, 1631, he still needed a great victory to repair his injured credit.

12. The battle at Leipzig was decisive for Gustavus Adolphus and his party, almost beyond all expectation. The league fell asunder; and in a short time he was master of the countries from the Baltic to Bavaria, and from the Rhine to Bohemia. What hopes, what plans must not such success have called into being both in him and many of his followers! But the misfortunes and death of Tilly, brought Wallenstein again on the stage as an absolute commander in chief; not without projects equal to, or greater than, his former. In no period of the war could so great revolutions of affairs be expected, since both leaders wished it; but the victory at Lützen, purchased with the blood of Gustavus, prepared the fall of Wallenstein. 1631. 1632.

The king, in connexion with Saxony, gained a victory at Leipzig, Sept 7th, 1631.—Bohemia was conquered by Saxony; the king advanced into the countries of the league, and after the battle at Lech, April 5th 1632, which was evacuated by Tilly, into Bavaria as far as Munich, May 7th.—The king and Wallenstein stood opposite to each other at Nurenberg, June—Aug.—The war was transferred to Saxony. A battle took-place at Lützen; Gustavus Adolphus and Pappenheim fell in the combat, Nov. 6th, 1632.

13. The fall of Gustavus Adolphus frustrated indeed his personal views, but not those of his party. But it was already felt in Germany, that even Swedish dominion might be oppressive; and the jealousy of Saxony was not extinguished even under vic-

tories. Though the school of Gustavus sent forth a number of men, great in the cabinet and in the field, it was nevertheless hard even for an Oxenstiern, to preserve the Swedish importance unimpaired; and it was but partially done by the alliance of Heilbronn.

What were the aims of Gustavus Adolphus? Necessarily the maintenance of the superiority, once acquired, of the protestant party in Germany. This presupposes that he 1. should himself have possessions there; that he 2. should remunerate and strengthen his friends and partizans. Who can tell to what extremes this might have led in an age, which was used to violent changes of territory and the creating of princes?—Had the hero, snatched away in the midst of his career, himself definitely fixed his plans? The treaty of Heilbronn was concluded with the four circles under Swedish direction, April 13th, 1633; Saxony however did not accede to it.*

14. If the power of Sweden was diffused over almost all Germany, in the next months, under the guidance of the pupils of the king, Bernhard of Weimar and Gustavus Horn, the cause seems to have been Wallenstein's intentional inactivity in Bohemia. The distrust of him increased in Vienna so much the more, the less trouble he took to diminish it, and if he did not by his fall atone for the guilt of treacherous schemes, he did for that of an equivocal character. Germany was in all probability saved by it from a great catastrophe.

The principal document, substantiating the charge against Wallenstein, is the report of Scesina, his negotiator to the

* Sam. Pufendorf, Commentariorum de rebus Suecicis libri XXVI. (from 1630—1654). Francf. 1707. fol.

Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, par Mr. D. M. (Mauvillon) Amsterd. 1764. 4to.

emperor. According to this he had entered since 1630 into secret negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus. But *a.* Had not Scesina an interest in proving his guilt? *b.* Was every passionate expression of Wallenstein an actual plan?—He was murdered at Eger, Feb. 25th, 1634. The most important information respecting his history lies hid in archives.*

15. Great changes ensued after the death of Wallenstein, since a prince of the blood, Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, obtained the command. Thus an end was put to plans of revolutions from this quarter. But in the same year the battle of Nordlingen gave to the imperial arms a sudden preponderance, such as it had never before had. The separate peace of Saxony with the emperor at Prague, and soon after an alliance, were the consequences; Sweden, driven back to Pomerania, seemed the two following years, till the victory at Wittstock, unable to maintain itself on German ground, by its own power. 1636.

The Swedes were defeated at Nordlingen, Sept. 6th, 1634.—By the preliminaries of the peace of Prague, Nov. 22d (ratified May 30th, 1635), Saxony 1. retained Lusatia of which possession had been taken. 2. The ecclesiastical property confiscated forty years or more before, remained in the hands of the possessors.—Most of the other protestant states were forced to accede to this peace.

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* Materials are contained in:

Beiträge zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs, von Chr. Gottl. von Murr. Nürnberg. 1790; and

Die Ermordung Albrecht's Herzogs von Friedland, herausgegeben von C. G. v. Murr. Halle. 1806.—The Latin original of Scesina's information is made public for the first time in this work.

The Apology and Defence of the murderers of Wallenstein, printed in Eger, ten days after the deed, was reprinted in: Morgenblatt, year 1816. No. 175—178.

16. The war was prolonged and much extended by the active participation of France; at first against Spain, soon against Austria also. From this time the war, on account of the contiguous Spanish possessions in Italy, could hardly remain confined to Germany; but the alliance which Richelieu contracted with the Netherlands, combined to a certain degree the German war with that of the Spanish Netherlands. Besides the support afforded by the enemies of Austria and Spain, conquests constituted a part of the plans of the French minister. Under such circumstances, when could an end of the war be anticipated?

1635.

The war, renewed since 1621 between Spain and the Netherlands, was on land confined to the Spanish Netherlands, and had consisted for the most part of sieges.—Richelieu entered into an alliance with the Netherlands, for the conquest and partition of the Spanish Netherlands, but without the desired success. The project however of that acquisition was never banished from the French cabinet. The alliances in Italy with Savoy, Mantua and Parma against Spain, July 11th, 1635, for the conquest of Milan were rendered of advantage for France, by the contest respecting the regency in Piedmont, which its client Christina maintains against Spanish influence.

17. After the treaty with Bernhard of Weimar, France carried on the German war by arming Germans against Germans. But the pupil of Gustavus Adolphus preferred to fight for himself rather than others, and his early death was almost as much coveted by France as by Austria. The success of the Swedish arms revived under Banner; and after the vain endeavor at peace at Cologne and Lubeck,

the two crowns, both desiring conquests, contracted a closer alliance for a common peace. 1635. April 28th.

A treaty for subsidies was formed with Bernhard of Weimar Oct. 27th, 1635, who sought to conquer for himself a state in Alsace. Brisach was taken, Dec. 3d, 1638. After his most unexpected death, July 8th, 1639, France made itself master of his army.—A victory was gained by the Swedes under Banner at Wittstock over the imperial Saxon army, Sept. 24th, 1636.

18. If under these circumstances a glimmer of peace became visible, it was not created by compassion for the countries of Germany, for what care did strangers give themselves about them? but by a confluence of circumstances. The alliance of Austria with Spain, which had besides to prosecute the civil war with Portugal and Catalonia, had been less close since Ferdinand III. 1640. followed his father as emperor; the independence of the new elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, left Austria and Sweden less hope, 1640. and at the general diet, which was at last convened, the emperor yielded to a general amnesty, at least in name. But when at the meeting of 1641. the ambassadors of the leading powers at Oct. 10th. Hamburg, the preliminaries were signed and the time and place of the congress of peace Dec. 25th. were fixed, it was delayed after Richelieu's death, who was followed by Mazarin, by the 1642. constantly continuing war, since both parties hoped to gain by victories. A new war was kindled in the north between Sweden and Denmark, and when the congress of peace was finally opened at Munster and Osnabruck, 1643 to 1645. 1645. April.

the negotiations continued for three years, in which the south of Germany and especially Bavaria were forced by the repeated invasions of the French and Swedes, to drain the chalice of suffering to the dregs.

The undertakings of Torstenson, 1642—1645, had had for their theatre Silesia, Saxony, (a victory was achieved at Leipzig, Oct. 23d, 1642,) and Bohemia; while the French army was defeated at Duttlingen, Nov. 14th, 1643 by the Bavarians. But after Turenne obtained the chief command, and after the retirement of Torstenson (Nov. 1645), his successor Wrangel in connexion with Turenne invaded Bavaria 1646, and Maximilian I. was forced to make a truce at Ulm, March 14th, 1647, the breaking of which was followed by a new, united invasion with formidable devastations in 1648; while the Swedes in Bohemia under Charles Gustavus, Palatine Count, and Konigsmark, took Prague, by which the peace was not a little promoted.

19. The very complicate relations of several of the leading powers necessarily gave the congress an extent, which rendered it, in itself, a phenomenon for Europe. Austria was at war with Sweden and several of the protestant orders, Sweden with Austria, Bavaria and Saxony, France with Austria and its allies and with Spain, and Spain with France, with Portugal and with the Netherlands. The war with the Spanish Netherlands and the German war, were the only ones terminated by this congress; not that between France and Spain, which did not reach its termination till eleven years after; nor that between Spain and Portugal. The German peace was negotiated at Munster between the emperor and France, at Osnabruck between the emperor and

1648. Jan. 20th.

Sweden; but both treaties, acccording to express agreement, are to be considered as one, which is called the Westphalian.

At the opening of the congress, how remote was all hope of peace? What obstacles were placed in its way, not only by the demands but by the character of many of the ambassadors, and the contested points of ceremony? All business stagnated; till (Nov. 1645), in the imperial ambassador, Count Trautmannsdorf, the man appeared, who understood how to remove diplomatic difficulties. The principal points of debate were 1. The fixing of the period which should be the epoch of restitution in future. Whether it should be 1618 as the two crowns, (France and Spain), and the protestant orders desired, or 1630 as Austria wished. 2. The fixing of the indemnification, both what was demanded by the crowns and what by the single states? What should be resigned to the crowns and how? Should they both become states of the German empire. 3. The reinstatement of the Palatine house. 4. The remuneration of the Swedish army, finally fixed at 5,000,000 rix dollars. 5. The exertions of France to prevent a separate peace of the republic with Spain. As these were in vain, and most of the other points were settled by compromise, the disputes respecting the religious complaints, (which, according to the spirit of the age, were of the highest importance,) were so violent as to menace the total dissolution of the negotiations, had not this been prevented by the progress of the French and Swedish arms in the year 1648.

The French ambassadors at Munster were Counts d'Avaux, and Servien; The Swedish at Osnabruck, Oxenstiern (son of the chancellor) and Salvius. Of the imperial envoys the count of Trautmannsdorf was the most important; besides him D. Volmar and Crane. Spain and the Netherlands sent each eight plenipotentiaries; and many other

states sent theirs. The papal ambassador Chigi and the Venetian Contarini acted as mediators.*

20. The subjects regulated by the peace of Westphalia respected 1. Indemnifications as well of the foreign powers who carried on the war, as of single states of the empire. 2. The internal religious and political relations of the empire. 3. The relation of two other foreign states to the German empire.—To obtain the means of indemnification recourse was had to the secularization of several ecclesiastical foundations, which had already embraced the protestant religion. The indemnified foreign powers were France and Sweden; the German princes Brandenburg, Hesse Cassel, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick Luneburg.

To France was granted Alsace, as far as it belonged to Austria, together with Brisac; the sovereignty of Metz, Toul and Verdun was confirmed to it, (see p. 63), and of Pignerol, and the right of garrisoning Philipsburg. The countries ceded were incorporated into France.

To Sweden was granted Upper Pomerania, with the isle of Rügen, and a part of Lower Pomerania, Wismar, Bre-

* Beside the work of Bougeant, (see p. 124):

Négociations sécrètes touchant la paix de Munster et d'Osnabruck; à la Haye. 1725. 4 Voll. fol. From this source is taken the lively work:

Geschichte des Westphälischen Friedens, in zwei Theilen von C. L. von Woltmann. Leipzig. 1808. (As a continuation of Schiller's history of the thirty years' war.)

J. Steph. Putter Geist des Westphälischen Friedens, Göttingen. 1795. 8vo.

The most perfect collection of official documents is:

J. G. von Meyern Acta pacis Westphalicae, Gottingen. 1735. Th. I—VI. Voll. fol. The author has also published the most correct edition of this treaty of peace. Gottingen. 1747.

mar, and Verden ; all, with the rights, belonging to a state of the empire, and five million rix dollars.

To the electorate of Brandenburg, the secularized bishopricks Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Camin and Minden.

To Mecklenburg, Schwerin and Ratzeburg.

To Hesse, Hirschfeld and four manors with 600,000 rix dollars.

To Brunswick Luneburg, the alternative in Osnabruck, with some cloisters.

The Electorate of Saxony retained, what it had acquired in the peace of Prague.

The Pope protested in vain against the peace on account of the secularizations.

21. The settlement of the internal relations of the German empire did not so much respect new subjects, as those formerly contested or uncertain. While 1. in respect to religion, the peace of Augsburg was not only confirmed but also expressly extended to the reformed party, and a perfect equality of privileges established; in respect to the property of the church and the exercises of religion, the beginning of the year 1624 was fixed on as the epoch (annus normalis), and therefore the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* was acknowledged as valid for the future also. 2. In respect to the political relations *a.* a general amnesty and restitution were conceded (with the limitation, however, as far as respects the house of the Palatinate, that a new eighth electorate was established for it, and the electorate, taken away from that house together with the Upper Palatinate, was retained by Bavaria). *b.* With respect to the relations of all the states to the emperor, the rights of sovereignty in their own territories were secured to them, as well as their rights in the diets.

22. The relations with foreign states were so determined, in the case of the republic and the United Netherlands, that they were acknowledged to be wholly independent of the German empire.

23. The results caused by this terrible war, with respect to the changes of territory, seem much less important than might at several periods have been expected, had not the removal of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein from the midst of their career frustrated their projects and their hopes. But the consequences of the war affected not Germany alone, but the European system generally.

24. By it the German body politic obtained its determinate forms, which were soon after more firmly establisbed by the permanent diet of Ratisbon. The imperial power was now re-
1663. stricted within the narrowest limits; the princes were in the fullest sense regents of their realms; the welfare of Germany was attached to the territorial government, and but little to the imperial. It was a federation under a limited sovereign. It had its deficiencies. Who can mistake them? But how far these were to be injurious, depended on circumstances, which could not be previously defined; and here the weak could subsist in tranquillity by the side of the strong. Does the consolidation into one monarchy, take Spain for instance, give a sure pledge of a higher degree of national happiness, than that which Germany attained?

25. In the political system of Europe, the peace of Westphalia settled not all the important, but only the contested, relations. But 1. The mainte-

nance of the German constitution, the object of the bloody conflict of half Europe, acquired in a practical view a weight, which could not soon be lost. 2. By the connexion formed between France and Sweden, the north and west of Europe were brought into closer relations. But this connexion wanted some common permanent interest, there being in a short time, nothing to fear from Austria, and it languished the more, as queen Christina used it only to draw subsidies from France. 3. Sweden rose to the rank of one of the first land powers, and kept it for more than fifty years, without, however, maintaining, like France, the influence acquired by the war. 4. The independence of the United Netherlands was now universally acknowledged. 5. The maxim, adopted in practice, of supporting the German constitution, was indissolubly connected, with the support of the balance of power, which therefore was subsequently much more distinctly acknowledged and confirmed. Not therefore by settling all the leading political relations, but rather by settling the leading political maxims, did the peace of Westphalia become the foundation of the subsequent practical policy of Europe.

26. The war between France and Spain was not terminated by the peace of Westphalia, because both parties, but especially Spain, hoped to gain by its prosecution, after it had been freed from the war with the Netherlands; these hopes were strengthened by the commotions in France, while that country built greater projects on the weakness of Spain and the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia, which it supported. But notwithstanding

the advantages, Spain obtained in the beginning, its fortune changed, Cromwell finding it expedient to declare war against it, and contracting for this pur-
1655. pose an alliance with France. The peace of the Pyrenees concluded between the direct-
1659. ing ministers, Cardinal Mazarin and Count Haro, at last put an end to it. This peace confirmed forever the superiority of France over Spain; not so much by the concessions made, as by the prospects, which the marriage, concerted between Louis XIV. and the eldest Spanish Infanta, opened for the future; the source of coming wars.

The fond wish of France was, to obtain all the Spanish Netherlands, in consideration of the evacuation of Catalonia. The prince Condé obtained a victory at Lens, Aug. 20th, 1648. The change of sides, on the part of Turenne, 1650—1651, and of Condé 1652 Oct.—1659, occasioned by the *Fronde*, afforded but temporary aid to the Spanish. Already in 1653 and 1654, the French under Turenne had acquired a superiority in the Netherlands. A union between Mazarine and Cromwell was made March 23d, 1657. Dunkirk was conquered and garrisoned by the English Jan. 23d, 1658.—The war ceased of itself at Cromwell's death.—The peace of the Pyrenees was concluded, Nov. 7th, 1659. France obtains 1. Roussillon. 2. Several fastnesses on the frontiers of the Netherlands. 3. Promises not to assist Portugal. 4. Partial restitution is made to the duke of Lorraine, the ally of Spain, entire restitution to prince Condé. 5. The commercial relations were regulated. 6. A marriage is agreed upon between Louis XIV. and the Infanta Mari Theresia.

The contests between France and Lorrain sprang fro the hatred between Richelieu and Charles III. (1624–1675), by the alliance of the latter with Gaston of Orleans France then exerted itself to obtain a part or the whole o

Lorraine ; Charles III. and his nephew, the great Austrian general, Charles IV. (1675—1690) attached themselves to the house of Austria ; till full restitution was made to the Leopold, the son of the latter, in the peace of Rysswick, 1697. France was compelled to experience, that even a banished prince may become formidable.*

II. *Cursory view of the contemporary changes in the other leading States in the West of Europe, and their results.*

1. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1. Though the political character of Spain continued the same, it had to undergo changes to its own great disadvantage. The war, renewed and so unsuccessfully conducted, and the miserable administration, had resulted in the loss of Portugal and the long insurrection in Catalonia, assisted by France. The re-establishment of the throne of Portugal in favor of John of Braganza caused a long war, prosecuted without vigor, which terminated in the acknowledgment of the independence of Portugal. Though Portugal was a state of the second rank, its geographical situation rendered it of consequence as an ally to the enemies of Spain. But the ancient splendor of the throne could not be restored, for there was no Emanuel the Great to ascend it, and the East Indies were already mostly lost.

1621 to 1648.

1640.

1640 to 1652.

1668.

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* Histoire des negociations et du traité de la paix des Pyrenées. Amsterd. 1750. T. I. II. 12mo.

2. FRANCE.

2. During almost the whole of this period, the government of France was in the hands of two ecclesiastics, Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. The former to correct political views united much energy, though little morality of character. His administration of eighteen years was therefore guided from beginning to end by the same maxims: aggrandizement of the royal power in the interior; extension of the national influence among foreign nations. The former presupposed the disarming of the Huguenots. Whom had he still to fear after the taking of Rochelle? Conspirators suffered on the block. In foreign countries he restored the French influence in Italy, in the Netherlands, in Germany, and founded it in Sweden. Wherever he could, he encouraged insurrections. Against Austria and Spain, he stood almost always in arms. The promotion of the arts and sciences lent him the requisite splendor. Who can approve of his administration in its single parts? But on the whole he suited the character of the nation. He laid the foundation of what Louis XIV. was to finish.*

1624 to 1642.

1629. Oct.

3. Mazarin, the support of the regent Anne, of Austria, during the minority of Louis XIV. only strove to accomplish what his predecessor had begun. But it was soon evident that he did not possess his predecessor's abilities; the

1642 to 1661.

* Maximes d' Etat ou testament politique du Cardinal de Richelieu. Paris. 1764. 2 Voll. 8vo. This work is no history indeed, but an undisguised exposition of the political maxims of the minister.

minority of the king gave greater scope to the nobles; and the disturbances of the *Fronde* broke out. A true national drama in its commencement, progress and denouement, performed by the lords and ladies of the court; but, although not without bloodshed, still belonging to the class of plays, founded on intrigues. The chief minister maintained himself against the demagogue Retz; it remained therefore as of old; but the claims of the princes of the blood had, to the advantage of the royal power, returned to their former limits, after Conde's unsuccessful experiment. 1648 to 1652.

The disturbances began, Aug. 1648.—Civil war under the great Condé commenced Oct. 1651. The exiled prince fled to the Spanish, and the disturbances ceased Oct. 1652. Restitution was first made to Condé by the peace of the Pyrenees 1659.* (See p. 142.)

3. ENGLAND.

4. For England this was the period of great internal convulsions, which proceeded from the reformation. But here they were produced by the spirit of political party, which arose among the protestants themselves, in consequence of the

* L' esprit de la fronde, on Histoire politique et militaire des troubles en France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV. (par M. Mailly). Paris. 1772. 2 Voll. 12mo.

Among the numerous memoirs the best is that of the principal actor: Memoires du Cardinal de Retz. (1648—1655). Cologne. 1718. 3 Voll. The most accurate observer of others does not always speak truly of himself. Compare:

Mémoires de Mr. Joly. T. I. II. Amsterd. 1718. as counterpart.

schisms between the episcopalians and the presbyterians or puritans. But the crisis was hastened by the difference, which prevailed between the theoretical principles of the Stuarts with respect to the origin and extent of the royal power, and those of the puritans. Thus the kings became involved in quarrels with the nation, at the very time when the want of money, created by their mistaken public economy, rendered them dependent on it. The

1603 to 1625. foundation of the whole was laid under James I. But when his son Charles I. increased

1627 to 1630. his embarrassment by a double, fruitless war with Spain and France, the difference between him and the parliament became so insuperable, that his only resource was the frequent

1630 to 1640. dissolving of that body; and he soon made the attempt to reign without it. But the Scottish disputes, caused by himself, forcing

1640 Nov. to 1653 April. him again to convoke it, the lower house usurped in the Long Parliament, a power similar to that of the French national convention of later times.

5. The methodical attacks of the Long Parliament on the royal officers and the royal power,

1642 to 1646 May. eventually led to a civil war, in which the king was at last defeated. But in the course of this war, fanaticism gaining ground in the Parliament, a party was formed of the maddest and most crafty fanatics, who, under the name of Independents,—like the faction of the Mountain in France,—made liberty and equality their object, differing however in this, that in accordance with the prevailing spirit of the times, religion was the

moving cause. Their leaders, especially Oliver Cromwell, made themselves masters of the army, and by means of the army, of the captive king, whom Cromwell sent to the scaffold. Conformably to the maxims of the party, England was declared a republic; and Scotland and Ireland had to submit. But the military form of government had already generated a quarrel between the chiefs of the army and the parliament, till Cromwell judged it proper to dissolve it, and to cause himself to be proclaimed by his council of war, protector of the republic. 1644. 1647 June. 1649 Jan. 29th. 1653. April 20th.

6. The protectorate remained however a military government; notwithstanding the repeated attempts made to impart to it the color of parliamentary liberty; and, consequently, being in opposition to the national character, contained within itself the certain cause of its ruin. But the continental relations of England, now almost severed, were reunited by Cromwell. If passions had their share in this, they were on the whole made subordinate to the commercial interest. Thus originated the act of navigation, thus the plans of conquest in the West Indies, and on the coasts of the North sea and the Baltic. The first was maintained by the bloody naval war with Holland; the latter were partially effected by the war with Spain, in connexion with France.

The act of navigation, passed in 1651, renewed by Charles II. 1660 was 1. to secure to England all the trade of the colonies, 2. to allow to strangers no importation, unless of their own products and in their own vessels. It was a fruit of the incipient exertions of the states to isolate themselves

in commerce ; but its weight, under the existing condition of navigation, fell almost exclusively on Holland. War was begun with Holland in 1652. Great naval battles repeatedly occurred. In the peace, April 15th, 1654, England preserved the honor of the flag.—In the war with Spain, 1655—1658, Jamaica was taken 1655. Dunkirk was taken in connexion with France, which was obliged to cede it to England.

1658. Sept. 3d. 1659. April. 1660. May. 7. After the death of Cromwell, his son Richard succeeded him in the protectorate ; but finding it wiser for himself to abdicate, the contests among the commanders brought about the restoration, which was effected by Monk. But it was rather the work of party spirit than of reason, unaccompanied with precautions for the future ; and Charles II. after he had regained the throne, retaining the ancient prejudices of his house, the elements remained of dissension between king and people, and the government continued destitute of any determined character.*

4. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

8. When the peace of Westphalia secured to the republic her independence, she was in the full bloom of her prosperity. This she had not lost by the new war of twenty seven years, because the war on land was beyond her frontiers in the Spanish provinces, and she had been decisively successful at sea. Though the state was not free from debt,

* Besides the sections in Rapin and Hume, we especially cite :

The history the Rebellion and civil wars in England from 1649 to 1660, by Edw. Hyde, of Clarendon. fol.

the citizens were rich. But the germ of internal dissension suppressed under Maurice from fear, and under his brother Frederic Henry from love, was unfolded under his son William II., and probably nothing but his early death averted greater misfortunes. The abolition of the dignity of stadtholder in five provinces gave to the grand pensionary of the states of Holland, Jean de Witt, such an influence, that the management of foreign affairs was almost entirely in his hands.

† 1625. † 1647. 1650. Oct. 1653 to 1672.

The war with Spain was renewed, 1621. It was rendered important, as a war on land, by the sieges of Breda, Herzogenbusch, and many others, till the alliance with France 1635. As a naval war it was successful for the Netherlands partly by privateering, partly by conquests in the colonies, especially at the expense of Portugal, partly by the naval wars in Europe especially 1639.—Peace was negotiated at the congress of Westphalia, which France endeavored in all ways, but in vain, to prevent from being concluded. In the peace Jan. 24th, 1648, not only was 1. the independence of the republic acknowledged by Spain, but 2. the existing state of possessions was confirmed both in Europe (by which the republic retained the territory of the generality and Mastricht) and in the colonies. 3. The closing of the Scheldt (the only example) was consented to by Spain.

5. AUSTRIA AND THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

9. Though the influence of the house of Austria in Germany had returned during this period to its limits, yet on the other hand its power increased in Hungary as well as Bohemia, which, deprived of its privileges, of itself now became a hereditary monarchy. A more permanent peace might have existed here, had it not been disturbed by the prince

of Transylvania and by the Jesuits. The attempts to render Hungary a hereditary monarchy, were already roused, however zealously the Hungarians resisted every innovation; and when did a persevering policy ever fail to be finally victorious?

Any lasting quiet was made almost impossible by the relations of Transylvania, whose elective princes were at once vassals of the Port and of Hungary. If these princes would or could have improved the advantages of their situation, they might have become the founders of a new empire. Austria was compelled to purchase peace of Gabriel Bethlen (1613—1629), who was already called king of Hungary, by cessions of territory 1616 and 1621. Of his successors George Rakozy I. (†1648) and II. (†1660), the former entered into a connexion with Sweden and France 1643, and concluded on the 24th of Aug. a peace advantageous for him and the protestants; the latter was occupied with Poland more than with Hungary.—In Hungary, the religious relations produced continual excitement; since the Jesuits were able to make their projects against the protestants agree admirably well with those of the court.

10. The Turkish empire already showed the marks, which presage the internal decline of the great monarchies of the East; rulers inadequate, educated in the seraglio; arrogance in the Janizaries, who exercised the right of appointing to the throne; rebellions of haughty governors. But as the personal energy of a barbarous nation does not die, nothing was wanting but a ruler like Amurath IV. to make it formidable. Happily however for Austria and Germany, he sought no influence over the European political system, for his projects of conquest were levelled against Persia. And though his successor, Ibra-

1622 to 1640.

him, began the protracted war against Candia, which was first torn from the Venitians by his son Mahomed in 1668, yet it was the participation in the Transylvanian contests, that again, in the following period, made the Turks dangerous to their western neighbors. † 1648. From 1675.

11. For practical policy, this period was important both for its forms and for fundamental maxims. The forms were rendered far more definite by Richelieu, the founder of the cabinet policy, but its threads were likewise more entangled. Yet it was principally the congress of Westphalia, which reacted on it. Never had Europe seen negotiations of such extent and importance. What was it not subsequently deemed possible to effect by congresses?—Since Richelieu and Mazarin, ecclesiastics were preferred as negotiators. Policy may have gained thereby in dignity, but certainly not in uprightness.

12. But though political maxims had been developed, their consequences were not to be foreseen. The work of Hugo Grotius *de jure belli et pacis*, taught the princes, that there was a law of nations, and operated no less by means of its author than by itself. The British revolution had brought into discussion the question respecting the rights of the people and the rights of kings, both of which were defended not only with the sword but also with the pen. Though Filmer was forgotten, a Hobbes and an Algernon Sidney wrote not without effect. The perpetual refusal of the Stuarts to listen to reason only animated these investigations; and prepared for the subsequent 1625.

establishment of national liberty. The maxims of freedom and equality, spread by the independents, were not lost. Though they found no acceptation in England, they were transplanted to the soil of America beyond the ocean, and were subsequently transplanted from thence to Europe, though not in their purity.*

13. Political economy remained without any essential progress. Richelieu only provided—no matter how?—for the public exigencies of the moment; Mazarin, still farther, for himself. What could be expected in its favor during the devastating wars in Germany? during the revolution in England? Even in the Netherlands, loans were the only resource on the renewal of the war. But the example of this state confirmed more and more the conviction, that manufactures and foreign trade are in general the principal scurces of national wealth; from the corrupt application of which idea, so many injurious errors were afterwards to spring.

14. The art of war necessarily underwent great changes from wars like the thirty years' and that of the Netherlands. These changes however, did not consist in the increase of standing armies. The generals levied and disbanded their troops; what Mansfield and Christian of Brunswick had

* Political discourses of Rob. Filmer. Lond. 1680. A poor, but at that time a weighty defender of the royal supreme power; far excelled by:

Th. Hobbes Leviathan, sive de materia, forma et potestate civitatis. Lond. 1651. Discourses on government by Algernon Sidney, first printed Lond. 1698. The famous defender and martyr of republicanism. He wrote immediately in opposition to Filmer.

done on a small scale, Wallenstein did on a large one. But he made no epoch in the art of war, like Gustavus Adolphus, whose genius struck out a new species of tactics, which aimed at quicker motion, by means of files less deep, light arms, and improved artillery. His brigades overthrew the imperial regiments, as did the Roman legions of old the Macedonian phalanx.—In discipline, also, he presented a great exemplar; but murdering and pillaging did not cease, till want on the part of the pillagers set some limits to the devastation.

III. *History of European Colonial Affairs, from* 1618 *to* 1660.

1. Not great changes but great progress rendered the present period important for the colonies. The Dutch, already the first commercial people, had established their regulations in the past period; they were extended, but not essentially altered. The same was true of the English. Least of all, among the Spanish and Portuguese, were any voluntary changes to be expected.

2. The commercial and manufacturing industry of Holland, perfected in this period under the banner of liberty, presented so dazzling an aspect, that it roused the envy of her neighbors. Her internal activity was directed by the character of the country to manufactures; but such a result could arise only from the concurrence of two causes; the facility of investment on account of the immense accumulation of national capital, and the increas-

ing wants of Europe and the colonies, under the increasing perfection of the social condition.

The scarceness of fuel naturally operated to cause the prosperity of manufactures, far more than of large factories. Among the former stands the manufacture of wool, hemp and linen, the making of paper and ship building.—The propelling power was obtained by constructing mills of various kinds. By them mechanical genius was exercised, and the north of Holland became a land, unique in the world.

3. As with all great commercial nations, the colonial trade stood at the head of Dutch commerce, and the East Indian remained the first branch of it. The company, even as a political body, was now seen in its full power, and, notwithstanding the
1619. treaty concluded with the English, drove its rivals, by the detestable scenes at Amboina,
1623. from the Moluccas. The maintenance of the monopoly, in the most odious forms, remained therefore the chief object. To obtain the productions, they subjected the native nations by arms and treaties. The Dutch themselves were not colonists; for there was at home nothing to drive them in numbers beyond the sea.

4. The newly founded Batavia remained the centre of Dutch India, as the seat of government, although as a city, its advancement was but gradual. It was the point from which conquests and traffic diverged; the former to Malabar, Coromandel, Ceylon and other islands, the latter by their relations with China and Japan.

The possessions taken from the Portuguese were *a.* Paliakata on Coromandel 1615, instead of which Negapatam was since 1658 the principal place. *b.* On Malabar, Calicut 1656, Cochin and Cananor 1661, by which the

whole trade in pepper came into their hands. Factories were, besides, diffused over both coasts as far as Bengal. *c.* On Ceylon. As the ally of the king of Candi against the Portuguese, since 1638, Columbo, the principal place, was taken in 1656. Mannaar and Jaffanapatam in 1658. But the Dutch were soon involved in a war with Candy, which alternately ceased and revived. *d.* On the other side of India, Malacca was conquered 1640, and Pegu and Siam entered. *e.* Their influence was farther diffused on the Sunda islands, while they were masters of the most of Java. On Celebes 1660, Sumatra etc. partially by forts and factories. *f.* In Japan, they succeeded by the revolution of 1639 in driving out the Portuguese, and, although under the greatest limitations, to retain access for themselves. The Dutch trade with China was less important, especially since their expulsion from Formosa in 1661.—The whole territory of the company was divided into the five governments of Java, Amboina, Ternate, Ceylon, and Macassar, in addition to which there were several directories and magistracies. All stood under the government at Batavia.

5. But the surest bulwark of their Indian possessions was the settlement founded on the Cape of Good Hope. Conformably to its aim, its was an agricultural colony; and its situation and very judicious first regulations would have rendered it far more important, had not the company destined it for a mere stopping place on the voyage to the East Indies, in which they were themselves the landlord. It constituted a government by itself, the sixth.* 1653.

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* Kolve Beschreibung des Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung. 1719.

Sparrmann Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung. (From the Swedish). Berlin. 1784. 8vo.

6. This great prosperity of the East India company was the cause that West Indian commerce also, though after the breaking out of the war with Spain, was committed to a chartered company, which, formed after the same model, made Brazil the aim of its conquests; but it was soon found, that privateering and war are in the long run no lucrative branches of gain.

The company was established June 3d, 1621. Its privileges comprehended the western coast of Africa, from the northern tropic to the cape; almost the whole of the eastern and western coasts of America and the islands of the Pacific. It was divided into five chambers, and their funds amounted to seven million guilders.—During the first years, privateering was a profitable pursuit, especially by the capture of the fleet laden with silver, 1628.—Conquests were made in Brazil from 1630, Olinda in Pernambuco was taken and burned; when the fortified suburbs of Recif, became the principal seat of the Dutch; but the resistance, made by Mathias Albuquerque, prevented their subjugating more than the coasts of Pernambuco. But in 1636—1643, Count John Maurice was sent out as stadtholder general with unlimited power. He seemed purposely destined for forming a state beyond the ocean by freedom of commerce and religion. All Purnambuco and some contiguous provinces were brought under the dominion of the Dutch; who were unable, however, to make themselves masters of St. Salvador; and although in the peace with Portugal, now again independent, June 23d, 1641, the Dutch were to retain their conquests, they were lost again during the next years, when envy and distrust at home produced the recall of John Maurice 1643. Even while peace yet existed between the mother countries,

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Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der guten Hoffnung von Mentzel. Glogan. 1785. 2 parts.

Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa. Lond. Vol. I. 1801. II. 1804. With the first good map.

the war revived in 1645 ; and to the heroism of Don Juan de Vieira, Portugal was indebted for the preservation of Brazil. Recif was surrendered to Vieira, Jan. 27th, 1654, and all the Dutch expelled.—St. George della Mina on the coast of Africa was conquered in 1637.—Settlements were made in the West Indies, on the island rocks of St. Eustatia 1632, of Curaçao 1634, and on the isles of Saba 1640, and St. Martin 1649 ; these settlements were never important for colonization, but rather by the contraband trade.

7. The fisheries of the republic, both the herring and whale fisheries, were closely connected with the colonies ; but by the contests which arose with England respecting the taking of herring on the Scottish coast, they led to political quarrels as well as to the claims of England to the dominion of the sea.

The contest respecting the herring fishery on the British coasts was first excited by James I. 1608 ; renewed by Charles I. 1635, and by Cromwell 1652. The Dutch, however, maintained the possession of them, (with the exception of forty miles from the coast.)—The whale fishery was left free to all, after the abolition of the company in 1645.

8. Of the branches of European trade, that to the Baltic was especially weighty in a political view, since it involved the republic in the disputes of the north ; though the commerce of the Rhine surpassed it in importance. In addition, was the immense extent of the carrying trade, (other nations yet wanting ships),—which received a strong support from the British act of navigation.

9. While the republic thus raised her commerce to a degree which bordered closely on a monopoly, it was inevitable that a rivalship should ensue with England, struggling to attain the same eminence. This rivalship contributed essentially

towards the two wars under Cromwell and Charles II.; but political relations subsequently prevented its continuance, and the contest of the commercial companies had not yet become contests of states. For England this period far more than the former was the period of monopolies, a principal source of revenue during the arbitrary reign of Charles V. The internal discontent was thus kept up; but notwithstanding these measures the commerce and prosperity of the nation continued on the rise, for these were the creation of the nation not of the government.*

10. The East Indian trade remained, in this period, in the hands of the company, but not without change. Driven from the spice islands by the Dutch, its only remaining factories were in Bantam, and on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and even the acquisition of Madras improved its situation so little, that it seemed to fall asunder,
1653. and a free trade with India began, till Crom-
1658. well restored it somewhat, by the renewal of its privileges.

The English had been expelled from the spice islands, since the massacre on Amboina, in 1623; in return in the peace 1651 they were promised the spice island, Poleron; but were unable to keep it.—The expulsion from the Moluccas turned their attention to Coromandel. Madras was obtained, and the fort St. George established there 1640, with the consent of the king of Golconda. At first dependent on

* J. Selden mare clausum seu de dominio maris liberi II. Lond. 1635. Written by order of the government. A prolix historical deduction, which proves nothing.—It maintains that the four seas around England were its property; but where were their limits in the north and west?

Bantam, it was raised in 1658 to a presidency.—The Persian trade in silk was carried on from Surat to Ispahan by way of Grambron, after the English had assisted the Persians in 1622 to conquer Ormus. But the competition of the Dutch, and the insecurity of the route, rendered it difficult, and the company still needed the firmans of the Sophis and Moguls.—That the stormy times at home could not be favorable, lay in the nature of the prevalent maxims and in the want of money, experienced by the government.

11. The settlements of the English in the West Indies were made by private persons on several of the smaller Antilles, which were little valued, since poor tobacco and cotton were almost the only productions. Not till the cultivation of the sugar cane, brought thither from Brazil, began to thrive in Barbadoes, was their value rightly estimated, and the conquest of Jamaica laid in this period the foundation of the future commercial greatness of the British in this region of the globe. 1641.

The first settlements of Barbadoes and half of St. Christopher were made in 1625, on Barbuda and Nevis, 1628; on Monserrat and Antigua 1632. Jamaica was conquered 1655 and the culture of the sugar cane introduced there 1660. The English settled on Surinam in 1640. The unoccupied Bahama islands were taken, and a settlement made on Providence 1629, which may be considered the key of the West Indies.*

12. It was, however, above all others the North American colonies, which made, in this period, such great progress, that their importance was already

* The history, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies, by Bryan Edwards, 1793. III. Voll. 4to. The leading work for the general history of the British West Indies.—The third volume comprehends the wars on Domingo.

acknowledged by the nation. The oppression, exercised towards the Puritans, and the internal convulsions of England, drove great numbers of colonists beyond the ocean. The single provinces, at first comprehended under the general names of Virginia and New England, began to separate, and
1624. received, after the abolition of the London company and the downfal of the Plymouth
1637. association, constitutions, which, though intended to promote a greater dependence on the king, were united with republican forms, that in fact resulted from the state of these colonies themselves.

The origin of Massachusetts dates from 1621, and Boston was founded 1627, chiefly by genuine enthusiasts in religion and liberty, who made their principles prevalent that side of the ocean. A free representative system was introduced as early as 1634. In the same year Rhode Island was founded by exiles from Massachusetts. From this state likewise proceeded the first settlement in Connecticut in 1636. Settlements were likewise made from it in New Hampshire and Maine in 1637; which, however, submitted anew to the authority of Massachusetts. In the year 1643, these provinces united under the name of New England for common defence.—Maryland was settled under Lord Baltimore, and the city of Baltimore was founded, mostly by Catholics, in 1632.—Virginia, as the southern portion of the coast, still remained undivided; but increased in an equal proportion with the diffusion of tobacco.—The act of navigation was renewed, embracing also the North American colonies, in 1660; an acknowledgement on the part of the mother country of their importance for navigation and commerce.*

* For the earlier history: A general history of the British empire in America, in two volumes, by Mr. Wynne. London. 1770. 8vo. Comprehending Canada and the West Indies.

13. The French also, attentive to both the Indies, began to take a station in the number of nations possessing colonies. But the attempts under Richelieu, to acquire a part in the East Indian trade, were without success; on the other hand the plantations on several of the West Indian islands flourished, but, the work of individual perseverance, they remained the property of private persons.

The first settlements were made on St. Christopher at the same time with the English in 1625. From thence on Guadaloupe and Martinique 1635, which produced much sugar about the end of this period.—About this time, the first attempts were made to form settlements on Cayenne; and at Senegal, on the coast of Africa.*

14. When Portugal regained her independence, Spain lost all her colonies, Ceuta excepted, but retained all its old possessions. But although Portugal repelled all the attacks of the Dutch in Brazil, their conquests tore from her, on the contrary, all her East Indian possessions, except Goa and Diu, and Ormus was taken from her by the Persians, with the assistance of the English. Nothing but the rising importance of Brazil enabled her to maintain her rank among colonial nations. 1622.

Next to Philip II. Philip IV. is the king who made the most regulations in the colonies. But the principal ancient regulations were preserved; and no important changes took place either in the administration (some regulations in Chili excepted, see Leyes l. VI. tit. 16), or in commerce. Many things were more accurately settled, such as the time of the departure of the fleets. Greater freedom was not to be expected.

* For the earlier history, Histoire générale des Antilles, habitées par les Français, par le Pére du Tertre. Paris. 1667. III. Voll. 4to.

FIRST PERIOD.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE NORTH, FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION OF CALMAR TO THE PEACE OF OLIVA AND COPENHAGEN, 1523—1660.*

1. The beginning of the sixteenth century constitutes no less an epoch for the north of Europe, than for the west. The five principal states of it, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia and Prussia, at that period, underwent changes, which either determined or prepared their future form and character.

2. These changes were caused by two leading events, by the re-establishment of the Swedish throne through the dissolution of the union of Calmar; and by the reformation. The formal dissolution of that alliance, which aimed at placing the whole northern empire under one regent, without having fully obtained its object, created a number of independent states of the north, whose relations, so soon as common points of collision arose, became very intricate.

* J. J. Schmaus Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft, zweiter Theil; die Historie aller zwischen den Nordischen Potenzen, Dänemark, Schweden, Russland, Polen, und Preussen geschlossenen Tractaten in sich haltend. Leipzig. 1747. 4to.—Goes to 1743. Hitherto the leading work for the general diplomatic history of the north.

3. The reformation was almost yet more important for the north of Europe, than for the south. It found such a favorable reception in the three principal countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, that it soon became prevalent; in the last it was immediately made the corner stone of the constitution, in the two others, after the lapse of time; it determined all the subsequent relations of Prussia; and by it the future fate of Poland was in a great degree prepared.

4. The ruling nations of the north were of double descent, partly of German, partly of Slavonian, and this diversity was displayed in their constitutions. Among the former, social life had been perfected in like manner as in western Europe; but there existed a class of citizens; though the nobility and clergy possessed a great preponderance. In the Slavonian countries, on the contrary, Poland and Russia, the nobility without any actual feudal relations, had reduced the people to servitude; and no class of citizens could be formed for want of commercial cities. The two therefore differed essentially in this, that in the former, the elements at least for the construction of a civil constitution were already provided, but in the latter were no better than entirely wanting.

1. Denmark. Its kings, *elected* since 1447 from the house of Holstein Oldenburg, were to be kings of the three united northern monarchies; they were so, however, but seldom; and when Christian II. attempted in vain to enforce the union in Sweden, a rebellion broke out against him in Denmark itself in 1523, which cost him his throne and soon after his liberty 1532.—Under his successor Frederic I., the reformation was first introduced into Denmark in 1527, and

gradually into Norway. Denmark and Norway were united into one kingdom in 1532. The Danish elective kings were much restricted by their capitulation, by the council of the kingdom, and by the administration of the nobility.*

2. Sweden. The throne of Sweden was re-established in 1523 by Gustavus Vasa, (†1560), and strengthened *a.* by the changes of the relations with Denmark, under Frederic I. and by the contract with him at Malmo, 1524. *b.* By the aid of the reformation and the confiscations, connected with it, of the property of the clergy 1527; and *c.* by making the crown hereditary in his family, in the diet at Westeräs, 1544. Happy was it for Sweden that he reigned long enough, to secure the succession to his house.†

3. Poland, was united with the grand duchy Litthau under one king (but not in one kingdom till 1569,) and continued till 1572 under the Jagellons. Whether it was an elective or a hereditary kingdom, was not exactly known in Poland itself. No where were there such materials for internal and external disturbances; no where was there so little hope of amelioration, as here. Who could define its boundaries with respect to Russia, the Tartars and the Teutonic order? who could define its own internal relations? Little as the happiness of a state is dependent on its forms, there are certainly such shapeless forms, absolutely resisting every improvement, that only the power of a despot, who destroys them, can save. But Poland unfortunately never obtained such a beneficent despot.—Even the reformation, though it soon found access to Poland, operated less on the nation, for local causes for a long time prevented the

* J. M. Schroeck Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation, zweiter Theil. 1804. For the history of the introduction of the reformation into the kingdoms of the north.

† Geschichte Gustav's Wasa, König von Schweden, von J. W. von Archenholz. 1801. 2 Th. From Swedish historians. But since then Rühs Geschichte von Schweden. Th. II. 1803, has surpassed its predecessors.

new sects, to which were added, besides the evangelical party, the Socinians, from forming a political party.

4. Prussia. Neither through its situation nor extent, did this country seem destined to play a great part in Europe; but by a strange complication of its fate, it did so by the introduction of Christianity and afterwards by the introduction of the reformation. By the former 1230—1283, the dominion of the Teutonic order was established. The natives were subjugated. German commercial colonies arose, but perpetual bloody wars were carried on with Poland and Litthau, and at last in 1520, between the order itself, and the country and towns. By the introduction of the reformation, the country was secularized under the grand master Albert of Brandenburg, 1525, and transformed into a hereditary duchy, but as a Polish fief, (in as far as it had not already become by the peace of Thorn, a Polish province, Polish Prussia). It passed to the electoral line 1618, which prepared its future fate and high political importance.

Russia. Under Ivan Vassillievitch I. 1462—1505, Russia, by its liberation from the dominion of the Mogolians and the conquest of Novgorod was rendered an independent empire, which, although chiefly bounded by the Dnieper and the Don, was already formidable for its mass and its spirit of conquest. But for the civilization of the interior there was wanting some moving principle in an empire, which was situated entirely without the sphere of the reformation, the general spring of national culture; and the social organization seemed as unpromising here as in Poland, had not the energy of the rulers possessed a freer space for action than in that country. The reign of Ivan Vassillievitch II. the first czar, the founder of Russian dominion in the north of Asia, in Casan and Astracan, 1533—1584, the precursor of Peter the Great, gives an example of that energy, for which we seek in vain in the history of Poland.

I. *History of the Disputes and Wars respecting Livonia to the beginning of the Contest of the Swedish-Polish succession.* 1553—1600.

5. Till the middle of the sixteenth century there existed between the states of the north no common point of contaet, for each of them was engaged with its own concerns or at most with those of its next neighbor. Ivan Vassillievitch I. had, it is true, aimed at conquering Livonia among other countries; but the truce of fifty years concluded with it, suppressed the feuds respecting this land, till they were renewed by Ivan Vassillievitch II. and Livonia afterwards became for the north of Europe what Milan was for the south.

The political relations of Livonia together with Courland and Semigallia had been similar to those of Prussia since 1525. Christianity was introduced and the country conquered by the Knights of the Sword since 1205, who, however attached themselves in 1238 to the Teutonic order. But in 1520, their Heermeister, Walter of Plettenburg, purchased freedom from this dependence, and made use of the introduction of the reformation, by means of the subjugation of the city and archbishoprick Riga, to constitute himself master of the whole country, though without either a formal secularization or rendering the sovereignty hereditary. Previously, the Heermeisters had possessed only the western portion of the country, as the archbishops of Riga possessed the dominion of their archbishopricks. This partition was the source of contests and wars, which involved the whole north.*

* Essai critique sur l' histoire de la Livonie suivi d' un tableau de l' etat actuel de cette province par L. C. D. B. (Mr. le Comte de Bray), à Dorpat. 1817. Voll. I. II. III. An equally critical and lucid exposition of the relations of the country, often so intricate.

6. An attack was made on Livonia by Ivan Vassillievitch II. and a treaty was concluded between the grand master Gotthard Kettler and Poland, by which 1. Courland and Semigallia were ceded to him as a hereditary duchy under the protection of Poland; on the other hand, 2. Livonia itself was united with Poland, for which Esthonia with Reval was joined to Sweden. Thus Livonia became the apple of contention between the three leading powers of the north; and the claims of the Czar, therefore, necessarily caused a general war, in which Denmark also became implicated from jealousy of Sweden, till Russia was compelled, after a contest of twenty five years, to relinquish its attempts and Livonia remained to Poland and Sweden. 1558. 1561. Nov. 28th. 1562.

The Czar invaded Livonia 1558. The war commenced between Russia and Poland, as also between Poland and Sweden 1562. Livonia was devastated in a horrible manner. Since also a war broke out in 1563 between Denmark and Sweden under pretence of the contested arms of the union, it was at the same time a war by sea and land; and although peace was restored between the two latter at Alt-Stettin, Dec. 13th, 1570, in consideration of a mutual surrender of claims, yet the war continued in Livonia, on which the Czar sought in vain to impose Magnus, a Danish prince, as king, till Sweden and Poland united in 1577 against Russia, by reason of which the Russians, in the peace with Poland, Jan. 15th, 1582, and the truce with Sweden 1583, not only lost all Livonia, but also resigned Carelia to Sweden, and were totally excluded from the Baltic. Livonia remained—though without any fixed adjustment till the treaty of May 18th, 1595—in the possession of Poland, Esthonia in that of Sweden.

7. During and immediately after these wars, there occurred in two of the northern kingdoms, the highly momentous events of the extinction of the reigning houses. In Russia, with the son of Ivan Vassillievitch II. the czar Feodor I., the male line of the dynasty of Rurik became extinct; the consequence was an anarchy of fifteen years which plunged the north in new wars, till the dynasty of Romanow ascended the throne. But much more important was the previous extinction of the house of Jagellon in Poland. From the time that the crown of that kingdom was formally made elective, a volcano arose in the midst of Europe, whose eruptions, at almost every change of government, often threatened the countries that were remote as well as near.

1598.

1572.

Of the eleven kings of Poland, from Henry of Valois 1572 to Stanislaus 1764, hardly three were elected with union; foreign influence and the wild spirit of faction, continued from the first to the last.

II. *History of the Contest of the Swedish-Polish succession and its consequences till the Peace of Oliva and Copenhagen*, 1600—1660.*

1. While Livonia had become the object of contention between the northern powers and continued to be so between Sweden and Poland, there arose between these kingdoms a much sadder contest respecting a succession, a contest, which ex-

* Besides Schmaun, the leading work for the north, for the years 1578—1637, is Khevenhiller's Annales Ferdinandei etc. (see p. 83.)

isted for more than fifty years, being nourished by religious relations and foreign policy. It was one of the first fruits of the Polish freedom of election, occasioned by the Poles' electing Sigismond of Sweden, and future heir of that country, their king, and thereby opening an avenue to the monstrous union under one monarch of two kingdoms, separated not only by their geographical situation, but far more by the diversity of religion. 1587.

Sigismond, the son of John III. and the Polish princess Catharine, was like his mother a zealous Catholic, and the tool of the Jesuits. By means of him they hoped to attain the object of their wishes, which they seemed almost to have gained under his father, the restoration of the Catholic religion in Sweden.

2. When, therefore, after the death of John III. of Sweden, his son Sigismond actually succeeded him, the consequences soon displayed themselves. No credit was placed, in Sweden, in his assurances. His uncle, who was appointed regent in his stead, felt more inclination to rule in his own name; and all measures, even the most severe, were in his view authorized. Thus there soon arose altercation; from altercation war; and the result was, that Sigismond, together with his heirs, was declared to have forfeited the crown of Sweden, which was conferred on the new king Charles IX. Between these two princes and their descendants, the war of succession was prosecuted, till it was decided in the peace of Oliva, in favor of the dynasty of Charles IX. 1592. 1598. 1600.

3. Meanwhile, the anarchy, then raging in Russia, prevented an actual war, because the eyes of

both parties were turned to that country; and both Sweden and Poland flattered themselves with the hope of putting one of their princes on the throne of Russia. But the elevation of the house of Romanow finally disappointed their views, and induced the treaties of peace at Stolbova and Moscow.

1613.

On the death of Feodor in 1598, whose brothers of the name of Demetrius were murdered in 1591, he was succeeded by his brother in law Boris, who put himself to death in 1605, being supplanted by a false Demetrius. The latter was defeated May 17th, 1606, by Knaes Schuiskoy, who was appointed Czar by a party; but Poland and Sweden now interfered in favor of their princes, or to acquire conquests. A second false Demetrius is supported by the Poles, who took Moscow itself, and caused their prince Wladislaw to be appointed Czar; but on the other hand Schuiskoy attached himself to Sweden, by a contract at Wiborg 1609, but was, nevertheless, overthrown in 1610, when Charles IX., after the taking of Novgorod, sought to make his second son, Charles Philip, Czar, but died Oct. 30th, 1611, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Gustavus Adolphus. The Russian nation, however, rescued themselves from the embarrassment, by unanimously appointing Czar, in a solemn election, the young Michael Feodorowitz, a native, of the house of Romanow, and a relation of Rurik, on the 12th of Feb. 1613. The war with Sweden subsequently proceeded till the peace of Stolbova, Feb. 27th, 1617, in which Sweden obtained Ingria and Karelia (Kexholm); and that with Poland till the fourteen years' truce before Moscow, Jan. 3d, 1619, (afterwards changed to a peace at Wiasma, June 15th, 1634), by which Wladislaus renounced his claims to Russia, which relinquished to Poland Smolensk with its territory Severia and Tchernigov.*

* Geschichte der Russen. Versuch eines Handbuchs von Job. Phil. Gust. Evers, Erster Theil. Dorpat. 1816. Far

4. But while Poland and Sweden were thus freed from occupation on this side, the war began between themselves. Gustavus Adolphus hastened to transfer it to Livonia, and since the Poles were by no means disposed to support the claims of their king on Sweden, both Livonia and a part of Polish Prussia fell into the hands of the young Swedish hero. Had he not been allured by the greater theatre in Germany, what would have become of Sigismond? By the mediation of France a truce was effected, which gave Gustavus Adolphus time, to enter upon his heroic career in Germany. 1620. 1625.

A truce of six years was concluded between Poland and Sweden at Altmark, Sept. 26th, 1629; prolonged, Sept. 12th, 1635, for twenty six years. Sweden thus remained in possession of almost all Livonia.

5. The earnest participation of Sweden in the thirty years' war, now gave the north a period of repose; especially since the Turks were at that time occupied against the Persians. But the jealousy, entertained by Denmark towards Sweden, which had its foundation partly in the personal character of Christian IV. and Gustavus Adolphus, partly in the rapid increase of Sweden, caused a distrust between these states, which broke out in repeated wars, although Denmark was still never able to prevent Sweden's acquiring the superiority by the peace of Westphalia.

Christian IV. had already taken advantage of the embarrassment of Sweden, by its being involved in the Polish-Rus-

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more than an attempt. The first part, that has already appeared, goes to Peter the Great.

sian war, to make a successful attack on Charles IX. Not till after his death, was this attack terminated by the peace at Siöröd, Jan. 20th, 1613, with the restoration of the conquests made by Denmark in consideration of a million of dollars on the side of Sweden. The part, which Christian IV., so unhappily for himself, took in the German war, had forced him to remain quiet since the peace at Lubeck, 1629; but the great views of Sweden during the negotiations of the peace of Westphalia irritated anew the jealousy of Denmark, stimulated by Austria, and resulted in the war of 1643—1645. Holstein and Jutland, were invaded and conquered by Torstenson, Sept. 1643. Schonen, then belonging to Denmark, was attacked. The Dutch fleet also came to the assistance of the Swedes. Peace was concluded at Bromsbro, Aug. 13th, 1645. Sweden obtains 1. full freedom from duties and search in the Sound and on the Elbe at Gluckstadt. 2. Jamtland, Herjedalen and the islands of Gothland and Oesel were resigned by Denmark forever, and Halland as a pledge for thirty years.

6. By this peace and that of Westphalia, the superiority of Sweden in the north became so great, that it appeared to depend solely on the personal character of its kings, what use should be made of it. Under the self restraint of Christina, whose foreign influence was limited since the peace of Westphalia almost exclusively to fruitless negotiations, no danger was to be apprehended; but when she resigned the government to her cousin Charles Gustavus, affairs were changed. Already an able general, full of ambition and restless energy, the new Pyrrhus ascended the throne with projects of conquest, which rendered all peace in the north impossible during his life time.

1654 to 1660.

7. A new war broke out with Poland, because king John Casimir would not acknowledge him and renounce his claims on Sweden. The extraordinary progress made against Poland (which was besides entangled in an unhappy war with Russia on account of the Cossacks,) by which the whole kingdom appeared on the point of becoming a Swedish province, roused the interests of the neighboring nations, in proportion to the greatness and boldness of the plans of Charles Gustavus, which, aiming immediately at the annihilation of Denmark, seemed to have no less an ultimate object than the erection of a grand universal monarchy, but were rendered difficult by the participation of half Europe, and soon overthrown by the sudden death of the king. 1655. 1654.

The king invaded Livonia and Poland 1655, Warsaw was taken and John Casimir fled to Silesia. But Poland was easier to conquer than to maintain; a great insurrection ensued, and a battle of three days was fought at Warsaw 18—20 of July, 1656, unsuccessful for the Poles. The extent of the war was much enlarged, when the czar Alexei, emperor Leopold II., Frederic III. of Denmark (May and June 1657) and soon also Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg (Sept. 1657), declared themselves against Sweden. All Poland, with the exception of Polish Prussia, was soon lost, but the scene of the war was transferred to Denmark, when Charles Gustavus attacked the Danes. Denmark was subdued, the frozen Belt crossed in Feb. 1658, and peace made at Roeschild, Feb. 26th. Conditions: 1. Denmark resigns forever to Sweden, Halland, Schonen, Blekingen, Bahus, Drontheim and the island Bornholm. 2. The freedom from duties in the Sound, is confirmed. 3. The feudal allegiance of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp to Sweden is given up.—But the weakness of Denmark had only renewed the

schemes of conquest of Charles Gustavus. Zealand was therefore suddenly invaded again from Holstein, Aug. 1658, in order to annihilate the kingdom by the destruction of the capital. But the siege of Cronberg gave the Danes time to recover their faculties; and the bold defence of Copenhagen gave time to foreign powers, Austrians, Poles, Brandenburgians and several German princes to come to their aid on land, and above all to the Dutch, who feared for their commerce on the Baltic, to reach them with a fleet. The siege was raised, and Charles Gustavus died suddenly, Feb. 23d, 1660.

8. With Charles Gustavus died his wild projects. Peace was now easy, for it was desired by all; and these treaties were the more beneficial, because by them were exterminated the seeds of the former wars, with the exception of the Cossack disturbances. Thus the liberty of the north was preserved, notwithstanding the dangers with which it was menaced.

Peace was concluded at Copenhagen, May 27th, 1660, under the mediation of France and of the maritime powers. The peace of Roeschild was renewed; Denmark retaining the reconquered district and city of Drontheim, and the island Bornholm by a particular compact.

Peace was concluded between Sweden and Poland at Oliva, April 23d, 1660. Conditions: 1. John Casimir renounces for himself and descendants, all claims to Sweden. 2. Poland resigns Livonia to Sweden, (excepting the southern part or former Polish part), Esthonia and the island Oesel. 3. The duke of Courland, taken captive by Sweden, is released and restored to his possessions.

Peace was concluded between Sweden and Russia at Cardis, June 21st, 1661. Conquests were mutually resigned and matters restored to their former footing.*

* Sam. Pufendorfii de rebus gestis Caroli Gustavi. L.

9. If Sweden, by these treaties of peace, assured to itself not only the possession of Livonia but also of the Danish provinces along its coast, Prussia and Denmark reaped from it on the contrary other advantages. The elector Frederic William, under whom Brandenburg rose to be a considerable power, availed himself, with rare ability, of the war between Poland and Sweden, to break the feudal relations of Prussia to Poland. By appearing at first inclined to embrace the Swedish interest, he purchased this independence by the treaty at Welau. But when Charles Gustavus desired to render him his vassal, in accordance with his design of founding a great monarchy, the elector was fully aware of the danger of his own situation, and was one of Charles' most violent enemies. The treaty of Oliva confirmed the entire independence of Prussia, on the side both of Sweden and Poland.

1657. Sept. 19th.

10. For Denmark, the storm, that had arisen, was the occasion of a civil revolution, by which Frederic III. was made hereditary king and absolute sovereign. The seed of this change was sown by the disproportion which had arisen between the states; but there was need of a concurrence of circumstances like the present, to bring it to maturity. A royal couple, like Frederic III. and his wife, seconded by a faithful servant like Gabel, can do much of themselves; how

1660. Oct. 16th.

VII. Norimberg. 1696. fol. The leading work for the history of the wars of the king.

Mémoires du Chev. de Terlon depuis 1656—1661. Paris. 1681. 2 Voll. 12mo. The author was the French ambassador to Charles Gustavus and enjoyed his confidence.

much more, when men like the bishop Svane and the burgomaster Nansen, come forward to meet their wishes? But who can prescribe to a revolution, its bounds? The annihilation of the right of election and of the aristocracy of the nobility was the original object; the king himself had hardly expected the annihilation of the constitution of the states. Thus Frederic III. by the act of sovereignty and the regal law, was made the most absolute monarch of Europe.*

1661. Jan. 10th.

* Geschichte der Revolution in Dänemark von L. T. Spittler. Berlin. 1796. Principally from the materials made public by von Suhm.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the beginning of the age of Louis the Fourteenth to the death of Frederic the Great, and the commencement of the revolutionary age. 1661—1786.

1. A new and important period begins for Europe. If the former was characterized by the mingling of religion and politics, the present is characterized by the connexion of the monied interest with politics. This ever increasing political importance of the finances, was on the whole a consequence of the further advancement of culture, which compelled the states to enter upon many expensive undertakings; but based on no fixed principles, it led to errors, without a clear conception of which, we cannot obtain an acquaintance with the subsequent history of Europe. It was perceived, that there must exist a relation between the wealth of the nation and the government, and exertions were therefore made to promote national wealth; but the three great questions, which from their nature constitute the foundation of political economy; 1. What are the nature and sources of national wealth? 2. What influence may a government claim on the promotion of national wealth? And 3. What relation exists between the revenues of the nation and the government? were left uninvestigated, till a routine was formed, against which better maxims were of but little avail.

The system, abstracted from the maxims created by this routine, is that, which is comprehended under the name of the mercantile system, and is therefore nothing but practice reduced to rules.*

2. If those better maxims placed a nation's riches in general in the greater or less mass of their possessions, but not merely of their material but also of their mental possessions, that is of their talents and knowledge, which alone can render the former available, practice, on the contrary, placed it in the amount of their ready money. Since the increase of this only was deemed a real gain, and the diminution as a real loss, the highest aim of political economy was fixed of itself, since all encouragement of industry was to have for its purpose the mere acquisition of money; and no account was taken of the eternal truth, that all productive industry is actually useful only in proportion as it is adapted to the character of the country and the wants and circumstances of the nation, and checks no more useful application of its powers. While the whole horizon of political economy was circumscribed in this incredible manner, there resulted from it an entire series of the most perverse measures, which were the more oppressive, since hardly a doubt arose respecting their lawfulness and even their expediency.

Though the wealth of a nation consists in its possessions, yet the (material) wealth of a government consists principally in its ready money, because this above all things is needed for accomplishing its purposes. Thus the increase of ready money was regarded as the chief object of political economy

* The best delineation of it will be found in:
Staatswissenschaften von v. Justi. Göttingen. 1755. 2 parts.

by the governments; but does this excuse the mistaken views entertained of national wealth?

3. The ideas of the sources of national wealth were naturally as narrow as the ideas of its nature. Mines, and the acquisition of money from foreign countries, were considered as the only sources. As a manufacturing and commercial nation was seen to become the richest, the belief was confirmed, that manufactures and commerce were the prime source of wealth,—to increase the value of raw materials and to sell to foreigners, more important than to produce and to pursue internal traffic. Participation in foreign commerce and the establishment of manufactures were now the great object of domestic policy.

4. But as commerce by sea is, in its most important elements, colonial, it was a natural consequence, that colonies acquired a greater importance, and that, therefore, the maritime powers, since they alone were able to possess and defend colonies, could throw a greater weight into the balance of politics, than would have been possible under other circumstances.

5. These ideas became of actual, practical consequence, because the governments had less and less hesitation to assume the whole direction of national industry to the acquisition of money—above all therefore, of commerce and of artificial industry. —This was done, partly by the establishment of privileged manufactories, partly by tariffs, partly by an entire prohibition of the importation or exportation of certain articles. The articles purchased might be poor, or dear, provided the money

did but remain in the country. Even knowledge and correct views were to be fabricated and produced only at home. Thus while the fundamental notions of money, of commerce and of the influence of government were wholly mistaken, while the entirely distinct spheres of political and mercantile independence were confounded with each other, there was formed a system of insulation, in accordance with which, each state was to sell as much as possible, but buy nothing. Strange inconsistency! At the time, when commerce was the aim of every government, all exerted their utmost power to annihilate commerce.

He, that regards the industry of nations as their own affair, does by no means exclude *all* influence of the government on it. It may be asked, where is the limit of this influence? No general formula can mark this for particular cases. The discernment and knowledge of the governments must define it.

6. At the first glance it may seem problematical, how, nevertheless, commerce could have become so important in this age, and have attained such an unknown elevation. But the system was formed by degrees; and nature was more powerful than the governments; and if it finally prescribed limits to the system of the sufficiency of each state to itself, there was further the circumstance, that several productions of remote quarters of the world found so ready an access into Europe, that they ceased to be articles of luxury, but became of the number of necessaries and consequently immeasurably important. It is only single branches of commerce among single nations, that have been

rendered flourishing by the ordinances of governments; the commerce of the world, as a whole, has risen into prosperity, not through them, but in spite of them.

7. The consequences, which the application of these maxims had for the mutual relations of the states, could not but be highly pernicious, both in peace and war. In peace by it, 1. a continual distrust was sustained, as each one was apprehensive of being overreached, to which the many commercial contracts only gave new support. 2. Towards the states which were enriching themselves by commerce, since in their gain others beheld only their own detriment, an envy was excited, which became vehement in proportion to the increase of their commerce, and but too often broke out in violent wars.—But in war itself, there arose, 1. the attempt to annihilate the commerce of the enemy, and thence privateering, which is never decisive, with all its abuses. 2. The spreading of the war to the colonies. 3. The restrictions and oppressions of neutral trade, so soon as a nation deemed itself strong enough.—The gradual developement of these germs eventually led to extremes, such as no age had witnessed and no statesman foreboded.

8. With this mercantile character of the age, the military was combined in a peculiar manner. From the whole condition of society, in connexion with the continual dissensions which the mercantile system caused, proceeded the system of standing armies, which, previously founded, received its perfection from Louis XIV. and Frederic II. By the separation of the military class, it accorded with

an age, which placed so high a value on the arts of peace; and for that reason it succeeded. It had no beneficial reaction either on the diminution of wars, or on morality; but it created the advantages of more secure tranquillity in peace, and of a manifold mitigation of the evils of war. But must not nations ripen for subjugation, in the same measure as they lay aside the instruments of defence?

9. Though frequent attempts were made in this period, to give a single state the preponderance in Europe, by the destruction of the balance of power, they were always frustrated; and their failure naturally contributed to confirm that balance. The maritime powers operated in this period far more powerfully than in the former; since their interest demanded the preservation of their influence, and the value placed on commerce and colonies could render it decisive. Standing armies are not fit for great conquests; they have their limit by themselves. Thus the political system of Europe, though the inequality of its members was so great, still remained a system of self-existent independent states.

10. The relations, between the states, became in this period much closer, by means of the perfection, which diplomacy attained; the natural fruit of a political system, where not an authoritative decree, but negotiation, was efficient. The custom, which had become prevalent in the great courts, since Richelieu, of keeping continual embassies even at the smaller, was enlarged and the whole was thus systematized. If the web of political negotiations thus became much thicker, the

introduction of the influence of personal character in politics was perhaps the most pernicious consequence, because the petty passions of the potentates and those who immediately surrounded them, were too frequently roused by unfavorable despatches, which even produced and prolonged wars. But on the other hand these embassies did most towards settling the forms of foreign policy, and whoever, in consideration of these forms, sees something more than mere ceremony, will not hesitate to appreciate them accordingly.

Ferdinand Catholicus had established the maintenance of permanent embassies, but only at single courts. Not till the French policy under Louis XIII. and XIV. comprehended almost all Europe, was the system of diplomacy enlarged, and with the enlargement of it, the etiquette was also fixed.

FIRST PERIOD.

From 1661 *to* 1700.

FIRST PART.

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE SOUTH OF EUROPE IN THIS PERIOD.

1. The ensuing period generally bears the name of the age of Louis XIV., because it embraces the golden age of this monarch. The appellation itself shows that France was in it the prominent state of Europe. But although this precedence was founded partly on arms, it was far more so on the superior culture, which fastened the view of foreign countries, by its splendor rather than its variety. To it the nation owed the dominion of their language; and does not a well founded dominion of the language in some degree establish a dominion of the nation? Conquests by arms are, after all, very much limited; but these peaceful conquests comprehended the cultivated world; and were imperishable because they were based, not on compulsion, but on freedom.*

* Le siécle de Louis XIV. (par Mr. de Voltaire). à Berlin. 1751. Rather a sketch than a complete account.

For the history of belles lettres; La Harpe cours de litterature. But also compare:

F. Bouterweck Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur. B. II. Göttingen. 1807; and the masterly critiques of Lessing and A. W. Schlegel.

2. Not only by population, situation and extent, was France the most powerful state of Europe; but also by the royal power increased by Richelieu; this power, however, was still very remote from pure despotism. The constitution was too complicate to admit of this. What limits were not set to the royal will by the nobility and clergy, by prescription and local privileges? It could become formidable to individuals, not to the whole nation; not easily even to single powerful bodies. Thus, in defiance of it, national spirit was preserved, and was elevated by the splendor of the age. The internal relations of the other leading states of the south of Europe, Spain, England, the Netherlands and Germany, seemed especially adapted to exalt France by serving as a foil to her.

1. Spain, after the death of Philip IV. (†1665), seems to have been in a passive rather than an active state under Charles II. (†1700) a minor who never became of age, though it continued to be the aim of French conquests in its Netherlands. But although the causes of the debility of Spain are to be attributed in part to the weakness of the government and its mistakes (see p. 106), they lay yet more in the constitution and the manners. In a kingdom, where the high offices of government are but benefices, purchased for three or four years, where the landed property is vested almost entirely in the hands of the nobility and clergy, a kingdom, where, from the want of circulation, no capital is accumulated, and where wealth consists in silver plate, a general impoverishment must ensue in the midst of riches. What an entire stagnation must then take place, when in seasons of war the treasures of America failed to be eceived.*

* Lettres de l' Espagne (par Md. d' Aulnoi), Paris. 1682. and
Relation de la Cour d' Espagne. Paris. 1687. Incon-

2. England, given up to foreign influence under the government of the unworthy Charles II. and (since Clarendon's fall, 1667) of his venal minister, was destitute of any stable character, because there was a perpetual contradiction between the maxims of the Stuarts and those of the majority of the nation, which necessarily terminated in a catastrophe, such as the revolution of 1688, which threw James II. from the throne and raised to it William III.

3. The republic of the United Netherlands, powerful on the ocean, was so much the weaker on land, since the interest of the now prevailing party of the states, under the grand pensionary of Holland, Jean de Wit 1653—1672, required the weakening of the land force. Great as a statesman, as far as diplomacy could make him so, De Wit was obliged to find by experience that continual negotiating hastens rather than averts a catastrophe.

4. Austria, under Leopold I. was by the Hungarian contests, too much occupied with itself and the Turks, to be able ever to use its full power against France. But what an inequality was produced by the personal difference between the monarchs?—What an inequality, by the talents of their ministers and generals? And what could not be effected by means of the secret influence of the Jesuits, in whose hands Leopold was; for the Jesuits were also the confessors at the French court?

5. Under the ensuing relations, the German empire could not conceal its weakness; and the subsequent history demonstrates, that Louis XIV. had discovered but too soon, what force and policy might here accomplish. But the new roll of the empire 1681, though it could not remove the actual deficiencies in its military constitution, proved that the nation would not remain behind the age; and the weight, thrown into the balance of politics by the great elector, showed, what even individual states of the empire were competent to effect.

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testably the most lively description of the miserable condition of the country.

I. *Public Contests in Europe from* 1661 *to* 1700.*

1. There was no room for the plans of conquest of Louis XIV. in the existing political system of Europe. They had reference to countries, with the fate of which, the fate of the whole was connected; with the state of possession, they would at the same time have overthrown the political principles. Frustrated in their principal aim, they served only to consolidate the existing order of things.

2. The commercial spirit, now excited in France by the government, acted no less strongly on the rest of Europe, than the spirit of conquest. The genius of one man created for this empire, not only well arranged finances, but also manufactures, commerce, colonies, ports, canals and a powerful navy; all this, surrounded by the splendor of high scientific, social, and military culture. But the manner in which Colbert raised France to the rank of one of the first commercial powers, established the future influence of the mercantile system on general practical politics.

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* Besides the general works on the history of France and the Netherlands, there belong here :

Histoire de la vie et du regne de Louis XIV. publiée par Mr. Bruzon de la Martiniere, à la Haye. 1740. 5 Voll. 4to. This work is valuable, as it is not written in the court tone.

Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. par Mr. Reboullet. 1746. 9 Voll. 12mo. The author was a Jesuit.

Of memoires :

Mémoires Historiques et instructions de Louis XIV. pour le Dauphin son fils in the Oeuvres de Louis XIV. Paris. 1806. 6 Voll. Especially the two first volumes.

Oeuvres de Louis D. de St. Simon. Paris. 1791. 13 Voll. 8vo. A lively delineation of the principal personages, from personal observation.

France was placed in entirely new foreign relations by its colonies, its monopolizing commercial companies, its treaties of commerce, and especially by the new tariffs of 1664 and 1667, regulated altogether according to the maxims of the mercantile system. Colbert's manufactures flourished, because the condition of society was ripe for them; his foreign commercial projects, modelled after Holland's example, could hardly flourish, because France neither was nor could become a Holland.*

3. The regulations of the English and Dutch contributed no less on the other side towards giving nourishment to mutual commercial jealousy.

1660. What else could have resulted from the confirmed and renewed act of navigation of the former, the great commercial companies of the latter, and from the mutual exertions of all to supplant one another, or to spoil the market for one another by duties.†

4. Besides this newly awakened commercial policy, an effect more speedy and more powerful was produced by the ambition and plans of conquest of Louis XIV., supported by Louvois. The

1661. contest respecting precedence with Spain, the disputes with Rome respecting police,

1662. however insignificant in themselves, were made very important by the claims to be in every thing the first. Could this be reconciled with the former relations between free states?

* Tableau du ministére de Colbert, à Amsterdam. 1774. Eloge politique de Colbert par Mr. Pelissery; à Lausanne. 1775.—Neither of the two exhausts the subject.

† Mémoires de J. de Wit, traduits de l' Hollandois. Ratisbon. 1709. 12mo. An instructive exposition of the interests of the republic, with respect to politics and commerce; and in general of the political prospect at that time.

5. But the favorite idea of Louis XIV., as it had previously been that of Richelieu, was the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, or Belgium. What could be more inviting? The accomplishment would have established the sovereignty of France in Europe. The freedom of the republic and of the German empire must have fallen of themselves; Spain would have had to submit. The preparation in the mean time, involved Louis XIV. in a series of negotiations, and at the same time in closer connexions with the republic of the United Netherlands, which soon, however, became burdensome to him, since they disturbed his more important relations with England, which had already produced for him the acquisition of Dunkirk. 1662.

Negotiations were commenced between the Grand Pensionary de Wit and the Marquis d' Estrades at the Hague, in order to retard or at least to modify the project. A treaty of commerce and alliance was concluded with the republic on the 27th of April, 1662.*

6. Meanwhile war broke out between England and the Republic, occasioned partly by commercial jealousy, partly by the personal hatred of Charles II. towards Holland. Although France and Denmark were the allies of the Dutch, the war was really carried on between the parties themselves only on the ocean with great exertions. The peace of

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* Lettres, Mémoires et Négociations, de Mr. le Comte d' Estrades. Londres. 1745. T. I—IX. The true school for the formation of diplomatists.

Brieven van de Wit. Amst. 1725. 6 Voll. The leading source for the details of the history.

Breda, by which the war was terminated, gave neither of the two maritime powers a decided superiority.

Hostilities were commenced on the coasts of Guinea as early as 1664. War was declared March, 1665. Naval battles were fought, June 21st, 1665, June 11th and 14th, Aug. 4th, 1666. France took an inefficient part, Jan. 26th, 1666. The weakness of the Dutch on land was strikingly displayed by the contemporary war with the Bishop of Munster, 1665. Peace was made at Breda, (after Ruyter had sailed up the Thames, June 1667,) July 31st 1667. 1. Between England and France. The islands, St. Christopher, Antigua, and Monserrat were restored to England and Acadia to France. 2. Between England and Holland, on the principle of the *Uti possidetis*. In accordance with this, England retains New Belgium (New York and New Jersey), Holland retains Surinam. The act of navigation was modified in favor of Holland, with respect to the navigation of the Rhine.

7. Even before the conclusion of the peace of Breda, Louis XIV. had taken up arms to enforce his alleged claims to the Spanish Netherlands, founded principally on the *jus devolutionis*, after the death of his father in law, Philip IV. king of Spain, and with rapid progress. Such a violation of the just right of possession was certainly an offence, not against France merely, but against Europe. There were statesmen who were aware of this; and Sir William Temple formed at the Hague, with de Wit, and afterwards with Dohna, the triple alliance between England, Holland and Sweden.

The negotiation and the conclusion of the triple alliance, Jan. 23d, 1668, consisting of a preliminary defensive league and a further agreement of an armed mediation between

France and Spain, for the liberty of Europe, is one of the noblest spectacles of modern history. Thus nobly do great statesmen feel, and thus openly and boldly do they act.*

8. Under these circumstances Louis XIV. considered it judicious to conclude the peace of Aix la Chapelle. He had to yield. But why did not the allies perfect their work, and leave the conqueror no portion of his booty? The maintenance of the sanctity of rightful possession can never be bought too dearly, in a system of states. But they were forced to make haste, and the chief object was attained.

Peace was made at Aix la Chapelle, May 2nd, 1668. France retains twelve fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands, among which were Douai, Tournay and Ryssel. The Portuguese Spanish war also (see p. 143) was terminated in this year, by the peace with Spain, Jan. 13th.—Spain retained Ceuta only.

9. Even after the restoration of peace the political relations remained essentially changed. The conqueror was, or at least seemed to be, restrained by an alliance. What was not afterwards expected of alliances? On the other hand France kept up its army, equipped even in peace; and what an army! The relations with the republic were severed; and of all they were apparently the most difficult to form anew, because the pride of the king was mortified; and the defenceless Spain had shown all its weakness.

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* Sir William Temple; Biographie von Heinrich Luden. Göttingen. 1808. Derived mostly from Temple's own account in his letters, (Works Vol. II.) and worthy of the great man.

10. What else could arise from these incongruities, increased yet more by commercial disputes, but a project of revenge on the republic? with the downfal of which, it was likewise hoped, as if such a thing were possible, to gain by conquest her commerce and industry. But the more it was felt, that such an attempt must raise a mighty storm, so much the more active was French policy in its endeavors to still it.

The commercial disputes had their origin in the prohibition of the importation of Dutch goods, or the high duties laid on them by the augmented tariff of 1664, which the Dutch retaliated 1671 by similar duties on French wines.—Thus the mercantile system, now in its developement, afforded at least a pretext for ruinous wars.

1670. 11. To produce a dissolution of the renewed triple alliance, was the first object of French policy. And how could it fail of success in this, since this combination, the work of the ministers, had never seriously occupied the attention of Charles the Second, and to Sweden was a mere financial speculation?—But that it should not merely be dissolved, that it should change into an alliance with France, was more than could have been expected.

A secret alliance was formed between England and France by the Cabal ministry, not merely to produce the fall of the republic, but also of the British constitution; and, in consideration of subsidies, as always, an alliance was soon after made with Sweden, April 14th, 1672, nominally only for protection.—Sir Willam Temple, having been deceived by his king, retired into private life.

12. But it was principally the negotiations, which preceded this peace, that established the

influence of Louis on the German empire. Negotiations were made with each one, and who, the great electors excepted, could resist the proposals of neutrality, subsidies, and marriage? Cologne and Munster became even allies. Austria and Spain were silenced; while the duke of Lorrain, as the friend of the latter, was expelled 1670. from the country. But can this seem strange, when de Wit himself could be deluded? The high minded man, like so many ministers, viewed his state through a magnifying medium.

13. Policy appeared therefore to have prepared every thing with unexampled care, though to a senseless purpose. And, nevertheless, how falsely had it reckoned? When the storm of annihilation burst forth, the republic did not sink; but by the fall of de Wit, Louis himself (so destiny willed it), raised up, in the person of William III., the man, who subsequently stood in opposition to him, as the first Orange had done to Philip the Second. But if the latter fought only for the freedom of his country, William III. contended,—equally unwearied and with equally varying success, in the cabinet as on the field of battle,—for the liberty of Europe. And he maintained it.

An attack was made on the republic by water and by land, in May, 1672. A naval battle was fought at Solbay, June 7th, and a landing was frustrated July 15th. But great advances were made on land in connexion with Cologne and Munster; and four provinces were conquered in June and July.—Amsterdam was preserved by putting the country under water.—A revolution took place at the Hague; the brother of de Wit was murdered, Aug. 20th. William III. was made hereditary stadtholder in five provinces.*

14. The actual progress of France created, moreover, an entirely different sensation in Europe, from what mere diplomacy could have done. All were filled with consternation at the imminent overthrow of a state like the republic. She soon found allies in Austria, Spain, Germany, and Brandenburg; while France lost those that it had; and not without trouble induced Sweden to take an active part, in order to employ Brandenburg and the empire. Thus unoffending countries had to suffer in a foreign cause; but the republic was saved, so soon as the war was removed from her boundaries. Without the loss of a foot of her territory, she eventually withdrew from the contest; but the cost of affording satisfaction fell upon the weaker of her allies; since the superiority of the French generals held victory in chains.

An alliance was formed between the republic, the emperor, Spain and the duke of Lorrain, Aug. 30th, 1673. The German empire engaged in the quarrel, March 31st, 1674. The elector of Brandenburg, who had previously been compelled to conclude a separate peace at Vossem, June 6th, 1673, renewed his alliance, and Denmark joined, July 1674. —Already in 1673, the war was transferred to the regions of the Rhine. The French conquered Mastricht, July 1st. A disembarkation was prevented by three naval battles, on the 7th and 14th of June, and the 21st of Aug. On the other hand a separate peace was made by England, Feb. 19th, 1674, demanded by the voice of the nation. The Spanish Netherlands and Upper Rhine were subsequently the principal theatre of combat. In the former were Condé and Orange; and a bloody but indecisive battle occurred at Seneffe, Aug. 11th.—In the latter were Turenne and Bour-

* Histoire de la vie et de la mort des deux illustres frères, Corneille et Jean de Wit. à Utrecht. 1709. 2 Voll. 12mo.

nonville, at last joined by the elector of Brandenburg. Battles were fought at Sinsheim, June 16th, at Ensisheim, Oct. 4th, and a sudden attack was made at Mulhausen, in Alsace, Dec. 29th. Turenne was always superior.—The Swedes invaded Brandenburg in 1675, but were defeated at Fehrbellin, June 28th. Denmark and the empire declare war against them. Turenne and Montecuculi met on the Upper Rhine. The former died at Sasbach, July 27th. But with the master of higher tactics, his school did not perish. In 1676 and 1677, Luxemberg and Orange were in the Netherlands. A battle was fought at Mont Cassel April 11th. The superiority of the former, opened to Louis in 1678 the way to the frontiers of Holland.

15. During the war, all sight had been lost of the original object, the annihilation of the republic. But the interest was rendered so much the more complicate by the participation of so many powers. After a useless attempt to bring about a peace at Cologne, Nimwegen was finally fixed upon, as the place for the meeting of a general congress. The manifold claims, the form of the negotiations, the intermediate events of the war, which proceeded in the meanwhile, and no less the disputed points of ceremonial, gave reason to expect long and perhaps useless negotiations; but did not all these forms, not excepting the contests respecting rank, spring from the nature of a free political system, where each member felt its own independence, and mere physical superiority dared not dictate laws?—The proceedings were, at least, successful, promoted by the zealous love of peace on the part of the states of Holland, and the apparently threatening position, which England took by an alliance with Holland. But

1673.

1678. July 26th.

French policy severed the combination, by inducing the Republic to make a separate peace, notwithstanding the resistance of the hereditary stadtholder.

The congress at Nimwegen had been slowly convening since 1676, and was opened in 1677. From the nature of things, a series of treaties of peace ensued.

1. Peace between France and the Republic, Aug. 10th, 1678. Complete restitution was made, in consideration of a promise of neutrality.—Of greater interest to the Dutch than the treaty of peace, was the commercial treaty, concluded at the same time. The old commercial relations were restored.

2. Peace between France and Spain, Sept. 17th, 1678. France retains *a.* the Franche Comté; *b.* twelve fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands, with their territory; including Valenciennes, Condé, Cambrais, Ypress, etc.

3. Peace between France and the emperor and empire, Feb. 5th, 1679. *a.* France retains Freiburg, in lieu of the right of holding a garrison in Philipsburg. (See p. 138). *b.* To the duke of Lorrain a very imperfect restitution was made, which he refused to accept.

16. More difficulties were caused by the treaty of peace of Sweden, deprived of its provinces, with Brandenburg and Denmark; for Louis made it a point of honor not to desert his ally. Peace was concluded by France and Sweden, with Brandenburg at St. Germain, and soon after with Denmark. To the latter full restitution was made, to the former, almost complete. The treaties between Sweden and the other allies contain nothing remarkable.

1679. June 29th.

Sept. 2d.

The principal ambassadors to the congress at Nimwegen were: from France, the counts d' Estrades, Avaux (nephew of the ambassador to Munster see p. 137) and Colbert-

Croissy. From Holland, van Beverning, van Haren, Boreel. From Austria, the bishop of Gurk and the count Kinsky. From Spain: Marquis de los Balbasos, count Fuente, etc. As mediators; from England: Temple, Hyde, Jenkins; from the Pope, Bevilacqua.*

17. The concessions, that France acquired by the treaties of peace, were by no means very dangerous for Europe, though the possession of the fortresses opened to it the door for perpetual invasions of the Netherlands. The greatest dangers arose from the manner, in which the peace had been accomplished. France had not only sustained with success, the combat with half of Europe; she had severed the combination formed against herself; and when is the powerful more powerful than in such a moment? The disorder, which prevailed in the public relations and seemed to render a new combination impossible for a long time,—and no individual state dared any longer to defy the preponderance of France—gave Louis time to reap all the advantages of his policy. Whether the projects, that now appeared, were a consequence of the peace, or whether the peace was a consequence of those projects, never had Europe seen encroachments on the sanctity of the rights

* Actes et mémoires des négociations de la paix de Nimegue. à Amsterd. 1680. T. I—IV. 12mo.—A collection of documents.

St. Didier, Histoire de la paix de Nimegue. Par. 1697. 8vo. The author was secretary to the embassy of count Avaux.

Histoire de traités de paix de Nimegue. 1754. T. I. II.

The memoirs of Lord Temple, both the older from 1672 to 1679, and the later from 1679 to 1681, are replete with information for this period.

of property, as she now beheld.—Was the prince of Orange wrong, in opposing, to the last, the conclusion of the separate peace? Was it the interest of the house of Orange alone, or was it the interest of Europe?

The changes in the French bureau of foreign affairs had an important influence on politics. The intriguing and luxurious Lyonne (since 1663) was followed in 1671 by the reasonable and upright Pomponne, dismissed 1679. His successor, the rough and violent Colbert-Croissy, (brother of the minister of finances, and father of Colbert-Torcy, his successor,) till 1696, accorded too well with the wild Louvois, to leave any thing to be hoped for but the worst.

18. Acts of violence were committed in Alsace, immediately after the peace; re-unions (so called) were made of the countries of the German empire (as dependancies of the new concessions) and soon after open violence was used against the Spanish Netherlands. It seemed clear, that the Upper Rhine was to constitute the boundary of France.

The chambers of the reunions were erected at Metz, Brisac and Besançon in 1680. Was not the form more irritating than the reality?—Possession was taken of Strasburg and Casale, Sept. 30th, 1681, the keys of Upper Germany and Lombardy, in one day.—The Spanish Netherlands were invaded in 1683.—Luxemburg was conquered and Treves subdued, June 1684. Lorrain still continued to be occupied by the French, and Genoa, which had become the friend of Spain, was obliged to find by experience, what ideas Louis entertained of the laws of nations.

19. Loud remonstrances were not wanting in Europe; but the relations of almost all the principal states, the weakness of Spain and the Empire, the partiality of Charles II., the love of peace of

the party of the states in Holland, which Louis managed through his ambassadors, and above all the distress of Austria from the Turkish war (see below) appeared to destroy every hope of future resistance. But, nevertheless, the unwearied activity of the prince of Orange produced an alliance between the four leading states. But how careful were they, to make it only defensive! Thus Louis advanced from conquest to conquest, always offering peace; and could still speak of generosity, when in the truce of twenty years, he retained the greater part of his booty.

A defensive alliance was made at the Hague, Feb. 6th, 1683, between the emperor, Spain, Sweden and the republic, preceded by particular contracts, for the maintenance of the peace of Munster and Nimwegen. But it was the interpretation of this peace which was contested. A truce was finally agreed upon for 20 years, Aug. 15th, 1684, partly with the emperor and empire with the retaining on the part of France, of Strasburg and the reunions which dated from before the 1st of August 1681, partly with Spain, with the retaining of Luxemberg, and the conquests made before the 26th of August, 1683.*

20. But was it possible for a truce, thus purchased, to defer the war for so long a period, as that for which it was formed? Was any barrier opposed to the devastations of the stream? Nothing could effect an alteration, but the exhaustion, with which the preponderating state purchased its superiority,

* Négociations de Mr. le Comte d' Avaux en Hollande depuis 1679—1688. Paris. 1751. T. I—VI. 12mo. He was French ambassador at the Hague.

J. V. Luchesini Historiarum sui temporis libri XIV. Romae. 1779. 3 Voll. 4to.

and perhaps the change of very important personages. But in such a state, exhaustion can proceed very far in the interior, before it becomes externally visible; and although Colbert died, yet Lou-
1683. vois lived; he, to whom war was a necessity.

21. Notwithstanding the temporary preservation of the peace, the materials of a new war were very naturally accumulated, by a series of single occurrences, which however heterogeneous in other respects, contributed to aggravate the animosity against the too overwhelming power of France; but the elements of combustion were spread so abundantly and so diffusely, that should a war break out, it could hardly fail to become general. The new contests with the Pope, the altercation respecting the succession to the Palatinate, and the quarrels respecting the election of bishop at Cologne, all concurred to produce this effect. And the persecution of the Huguenots, which was long
1685. ago organized, and which terminated in their banishment by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, must so much the more have involved Louis in continual difficulties with the protestant powers, since such scenes were no longer common in Europe. And in addition, there were yet the perpetual petty altercations between France and the Republic on account of tariffs and prohibitions.

Disputes arose in 1673 with Pope Innocent XI. respecting the *regale*, and led in 1682 to the convocation of a national council, which by its four articles fixed the relations to Rome or the rights of the Gallican church; and in 1682 respecting the absurd freedom of quarters.—The altercation

respecting the succession to the palatinate had its origin in the attempt of Louis, after the extinction of the Palatine Simmerian male line with elector Charles in 1685, to assert the claims of his sister, the duchess of Orleans, to the allodial succession and also to the greater portion of the country. —Quarrels arose about the episcopal election at Cologne in 1688, Louis supported his client, the Bishop of Fürstenberg of Strasburg, in opposition to John Clement, prince of Bavaria, who, though chosen by the minority of the chapter, was, nevertheless, confirmed by the Pope.

22. While all thus felt themselves injured, and were apprehensive for themselves, it was more easy for the Orange to negotiate a new league, for maintaining the truce, which was concluded at Augsburg. As Louis considered it, as formed against himself, the immediate breaking out of a great war hardly appeared any longer doubtful; and though the embarrassment of Louvois precipitated the eruption, this was only what must have taken place at a somewhat later period.

The league of Augsburg was concluded July 29th, 1686, between the emperor, Spain, Sweden, the elector of Bavaria, the Suabian, Bavarian and Franconian circles, and some German princes. As the breach was already very wide, the choice of elector of Cologne (see above), brought the matter to a crisis. War was declared against the emperor and empire Sept. 24th, 1688.

23. But scarcely had the war broken out, when an event occurred, that alone would have rendered war inevitable; the revolution in England, which raised William III. to the throne of his father in law. The reception given by Louis to James II. as a friend and a king, was a virtual declaration of hostilities. 1689. Jan.

24. Thus there was kindled in Europe a new war, the extent of which was as uncertain as its duration. In three months there was no longer a neutral state in the west of Europe; and Louvois took the best care to spread the flames most widely.

The declaration against the emperor and empire was followed by one against the Pope, as a secular prince; against the Republic, Nov. 6th, 1688, against Spain, April 15th, 1689. War on France was declared by England, May 17th. A grand alliance was formed at Vienna, May 12th, 1689, to which the duke of Savoy also, forced by Louvois, acceded June 1690. Denmark promised auxiliaries to England.

25. It seemed inevitable, that the fearful nine years' contest, (likewise remarkable on account of new interdictions of commerce,) in the Netherlands, in the Rhine lands, in Italy, in Ireland and on the Spanish frontiers, and moreover on the ocean and Mediterranean, should terminate either in the subjection, or the most decisive triumph of France. And yet neither was the case. The superiority of the French generals, of the unconquered Luxemberg, of the modest Catinat, continued; but the progressive exhaustion of the interior became too apparent abroad, and Colbert had formed no pupils like Turenne.

Were not the horrible devastations of the Palatinate in 1688 and 1689, with fire and sword, by Louvois (†1691), in order to protect the frontiers, proofs of the consciousness of internal weakness? The French could never penetrate much beyond the Rhine, especially as they were opposed since 1693, by the bold Louis, prince of Baden.—The principal theatre of the war was in the Netherlands, where Luxemberg gained a victory at Fleurus, July 1st 1690; one at Steenkerke, August 3d, 1692; and at Neerwinden, on the

29th of July, 1693, the two latter over William III., and took Namur and several fortresses. Yet the prince of Orange, often defeated but never vanquished, stood his ground; and what Luxemberg (†Jan. 1695) could not effect, how could his successor Villeroy accomplish?—In Italy, a battle was fought between Catinat and Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy. Catinat obtained a victory at Stafarda, Aug. 18th, 1690 and subdued Savoy, and a part of Piedmont in 1691. A battle was gained at Marsaglia, Oct. 4th, 1603, when secret negotiations were commenced between the duke and France.—The war on the boundaries of Catalonia was for a long time, a matter of secondary importance, but terminated 1697 in the conquest of Barcelona.—The naval war, successfully begun by France, by Tourville's victory at Dieppe, July 10th, 1690, was connected with the project of a landing in England and Ireland, in favor of James II. The latter, executed indeed by France, but badly sustained, was frustrated by the victory of William III. on the river Boyne, July 1st, 1690; the former was frustrated by the naval victory of the British at La Hogue, May 29th, 1692, the result of which ensured to them the superiority.—The war reached also the East and West Indies. Carthagena in South America was conquered, May 5th 1697.—A strict embargo had been imposed by England from the commencement of the war; (the interdiction previously laid on all commerce with France by an act of parliament, 1678, having been revoked by James II.); for not only was the contraband trade, as usual, forbidden, but all commerce with France, either by natives or foreigners, Aug. 22d, 1689. Scarcely, however, were any foreigners to be found, who were neutral.

26. It was to be expected, that, in this war also, the separation of the grand confederacy would be the aim of French policy. It was hoped at least to gain the duke of Savoy, and secret negotiations were begun in 1694, that finally led to a treaty, by which France attained its end.

By the treaty at Turin, 1. The duke recovered all his territories and Pignerol itself, though much injured. 2. His daughter was espoused to the eldest grandson of Louis, the Duc de Bourgogne. 3. He promised to effect with Spain and Austria the neutrality of Italy, which was done by the treaty of Vigevano, Oct. 7th.

27. Though this separation was of great moment, yet the acknowledging of William III. and the requisitions of Austria placed great obstacles in the way of a pacification. But it was promoted on the side of France by the projects on the Spanish monarchy, the preparation for which, possible only in peace, could be no longer protracted, and on the other side by distrust among the allies. A congress, which convened at the castle near Ryswick in Holland, prosecuted the negotiations under Swedish mediation; and Louis attained his object the sooner by creating new divisions among the confederates.

The Congress was opened at Ryswick, May 9th, 1697. A preliminary agreement was made with the maritime powers; and after the lapse of the limit of time set to the emperor and empire, the peace was concluded between them and Spain, Sept. 20th, in which the emperor and empire were soon forced to acquiesce, Oct. 30th.

1. Peace between France and England. 1. William III. was acknowledged. 2. Conquests were mutually restored.

2. Peace between France and Holland, on condition of mutual restitution; and a commercial treaty.

3. Peace between France and Spain. All conquests and annexations in Catalonia and the Low Countries were restored, with the exception of some villages as adjusting the boundary.—Without any especial concession, France retained the already occupied part of St. Domingo. (See below.)

4. Peace with the emperor and empire. 1. France retained all the annexations in Alsace; and also Strasburg. 2. All others, except those of Alsace, were restored; (yet according to an inserted clause, the Catholic religion was to remain in *statu quo.*) 3. The quarrel respecting the palatine succession should be decided by arbiters. 4. Full restitution was made of the duke of Lorrain.

The principal ambassadors were; from France: Callières, De Harlay. From England; Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lexington, etc. From Holland: A. Heinsius, J. Boreel, etc. From the emperor: Count Kaunitz, Stratman, Von Sailern. From Spain: Don Quiros. From Sweden: as mediators, Count Bonde, Von Lilienroth.*

28. Although by this tedious war, the wish of the allies, to restore things to the standing of the peace of Nimwegen, or if possible of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, was by no means perfectly satisfied, yet the principal object was attained; the mutual freedom and independence of the states was maintained and secured. The wars, prosecuted for this end, and terminated by three such treaties of peace, had made the importance of the political balance of power to be so felt, that there was no danger of its being soon lost in practice.

29. In close connexion with this, as a result of this war, stood the fixing of the British continental policy in its leading forms. It proceeded from the rivalship with France; which, originating in the commercial jealousy existing between the na-

* Actes, mémoires et négociations de la paix de Ryswic, par Ad. Moetjens. T. I—V. à la Haye. 1707.

Memoires politiques pour servir à la parfaite intelligence de la paix de Ryswic par du Mont. 1699. T. I—IV. contain a diplomatic history of the disputes of the states, since the Westphalian peace, but go only to 1676.

tions, was permanently rooted by William III. Too weak to resist France on land, it attached itself to Austria, the second power of the continent, and very naturally to the house of Hapsburg, so long as it ruled in Spain. The close connexion with the Netherlands was a consequence of William the Third's accession to the throne; in Italy it had just learned to appreciate the importance of the duke of Savoy, and in the German empire it could hard ly want single allies.

30. But while those wars shook the West of Europe, storms no less violent raged in the East. The danger from the Turks was never so threatening for Germany as in this period, when it seemed inevitable that the fate of Vienna should decide that of the empire. The contests respecting Transylvania and the tyranny of the Austrians in Hungary did not leave the Turks without adherents; and though in regular battles they had to bend to German tactics, there were found some leaders who understood what might be effected by great masses of light troops, animated by national pride and religious hatred. Those wars had no small influence on the contests of western Europe. Louis XIV. in policy as in private life, never untrue to decorum, was not indeed the formal coadjutor of the enemy of Christendom; on the contrary, he sent an auxiliary force against it; but his ambassadors were not for this reason less active in Constantinople, or his diplomatists in Hungary.

War was already 1661—1664, stirred up in Transylvania, by the contested election of princes between Kemeny, aided by Austria, and Michael Abaffi, who was supported by the

Port. The fortress of Grosswardein was taken 1661, and Neuhausel 1662. The imminent danger finally induced the empire and even France to afford assistance to the emperor. Montecuculi obtained a victory over Achmet Niuprili at St. Gotthard on the Raab, July 22d, 1664. But in the truce of twenty years, Aug. 22d, the Turks remained in possession of Neuhausel and Grosswardein.

31. The second war was much more lasting and important, which began under French influence, before the lapse of the truce, and was terminated at the close of the century by the peace of Carlowitz. How much were the contemporary undertakings of Louis XIV. favored by it! But though at its commencement, the seige of Vienna menaced the freedom of Germany, yet as the dominion of Austria was by it established in Hungary, Germany was in future secured from the attacks of the Turks. By the participation of Poland and Russia, the war was extended to the north of Europe. (See below.)

The truce of twenty years was broken by the assistance afforded to Count Tekeli in Hungary 1682. Austria was invaded, and Vienna invested, July 22d, 1683. The city was relieved by the combined German and Polish army, under the duke Charles of Lorrain, and John Sobiesky, Sept. 12th. The German princes subsequently took a more earnest participation, and Venice acceeded, 1684. Hungary continued to be the theatre of the war. Neuhausel was conquered, Aug. 19th, 1685, and Ofen by the Germans, Aug. 2d, 1686. The Turks were defeated at Mohacz, Aug. 7th, and Slavonia was lost, 1687. Venice makes conquests in Dalmatia, the Morea, and Attica. The vizier Kiuprili Mustapha (since 1690) shortly after demonstrated, what may be effected in a barbarous nation by quickening the national spirit. Nissa was conquered and Belgrade (Oct.).

But in the battle of Salankemen, Aug. 19th, 1691, the hero fell without finding a worthy successor. In the field the contest began to languish, while the contest of French and British diplomacy in Constantinople, was the more lively. But the latter impeded the peace; and when Mustapha II. placed himself, 1695, at the head of affairs, the war revived. When, however, prince Eugene acquired the chief command, 1697, the war was decided by the battle at Zeutha (Sept. 11th.) Peace was concluded at Carlowitz, Jan. 26th, 1699. 1. With Austria, which retained Transylvania, the Port retaining Temeswar. 2. With Venice. The republic retained the Morea, besides the islands, St. Mauro and Egina. See below the peace with Poland and that with Russia.*

II. *Cursory view of the principal contemporary changes in each of the leading States of the West of Europe, and of their results.*

1. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1. These two kingdoms, now separated, continued to exist, without the renewed independence of Portugal being sufficient to give a new impulse to the nation. But the state of this country was better than that of Spain, where all the germs of internal corruption were so fully developed, (see p. 185), that it is difficult to explain even the continuance of its political existence. But a great state can go a long way in the career of error, before it is overtaken by political death.

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* De la Croix Guerres des Turcs avec la Pologne, la Moscovie et la Hongrie à la Haye. 1698. 8vo.

2. FRANCE.

2. A reign, splendid as that of Louis XIV. harmonized too well with the character of the nation, to allow discontent, in spite of all oppression, to find a centre of resistance. The moderate aggrandizements, that were made, were purchased at so high a price, that they could scarcely be regarded as a gain. But French influence increased in a far greater degree, than French power, and, by the diffusion of the French language and manners, was augmented even by the expulsion of the Huguenots, though it gave some compensation to the abused nations by the diffusion of French capital and industry.

3. Yet in the midst of the period of royal unlimited power, religious controversy produced a germ, of slow growth, but the less to be exterminated, which became of multiplied fruitfulness. Jansenism, as opposed to Jesuitism, was necessarily the ally of freedom of thought and the spirit of inquiry; and thus afforded some amends for the immeasurable injury, that France suffered in this respect, from the expulsion of the Huguenots. The political influence of the Jesuits gave it, inevitably, though gradually, a political character, and was able to make it, afterwards, the vehicle of an opposition to the government.

Jansenism had its origin in the controversy with the Jesuits respecting the book of Jansen, bishop of Ypres, (†1640), Augustinus s. de gratia. By the condemnation of the five positions of Pope Alexander VII. 1656, and the form of the oath required, the contest became of practical

importance among the clergy as early as 1665. It did not acquire its political importance till the following period.

3. ENGLAND.

4. No state experienced internal changes of such moment, as England. They fully determined its future character as a state; and its part as a member of the European political system. The revolution which raised William III. to the throne, 1688. that had been vacated by his father in law, restored the harmony between the nation and the government, and was therefore productive of incalculable benefit for the future. The supremacy of the protestant religion and constitutional freedom were the desire of the people; both were secured to them by the present revolution; and formally ratified by the Bill of Rights.

5. But it was not the giving greater stability to forms, (generally the ancient ones,) that gave to the British constitution its subsequent life. This proceeded from the nation itself, from the long struggle of the lower house against the projects of the Stuarts, from the spirit, which was thereby quickened; even the survival of the parties of the whigs and tories, (for how could all parties have disappeared on a sudden?) was only a symptom of life.

6. The great advantages of this constitution by no means consisted in an equilibrium of powers, effected by artificial forms; they lay in the increased practical authority of parliament, especially of the lower house, and of the unrestrained intercourse of the monarch with it, by means of his organs, the

ministers. As mediators between king and parliament, their weight was necessarily increased; but after the secret was disclosed, that a breach could never occur between the two houses, the maintenance of a majority in parliament was the condition of their efficiency. The public opposition secured them from secret cabals; though unity among themselves was naturally requisite; and for this provision was made, in the manner of forming a ministry.

7. There could not therefore be in any of the leading states of Europe, so much political life in the nation, as in this country; and certainly not without reason was Great Britain, for a century, the object of admiration as the model of a constitutional monarchy; though men sought in forms for what lay much deeper. But this constitution unavoidably contained within itself the seeds of corruption. They lay in the imperfect representation; yet not so much in itself, as in the subsequent abuses in the elections, by which the ministers sought to maintain the majority in parliament.—Foreign powers had ample cause to use circumspection in their connexions with England; for a change of ministers implied a change of political maxims, and the successors deemed themselves but slightly bound by the engagements of their predecessors.*

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* De Lolme sur la constitution d' Angleterre. Genève. 1771. 8vo.

Schmalz Staatsverfassung von Gross Britannien. 1806. 8vo.—Both very valuable works; but neither exhausts the subject.

4. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

8. The making of the office of stadtholder hereditary in five provinces, the work of necesssity and the means of preservation, (see p. 193,) would probably have been attended by results of great consequence for the interior, had the new stadtholder had heirs. But while his activity was turned almost exclusively to foreign policy, it was limited at home principally to bringing men of his manner of thinking into the states, and placing them in the offices of government. More of a statesman than a soldier, (though he was justly admired as a general in misfortune,) William III. formed rather a political than a military school; and as his spirit survived in Heinsius, Fagels, etc., the maxims of his policy, opposition to France and union with England, continued after his death. 1672 to 1702.

5. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

9. After the settlement of the contested relations by the peace of Westphalia, we may expect, indeed, internal quiet, but the elements of diplomacy and even of quarrels could not be wanting in a body politic, whose internal relations were not only so infinitely involved, but also became more complicate by the mistrust of religious parties, which produced the formation of the *Corpus Evangelicorum*. But such disputes could hardly be called evils; and while they gave rise to the perpetual diet, the whole acquired a greater degree of solidity. The form of the ancient diet had its advantages in its time; but after the court manners had changed, it necessarily grew antiquat- 1653. 1663.

ed. A perpetual congress therefore arose, because it was needed; it was scarcely known how? But for that reason almost no one thought, how it could be most wisely organized.

10. Great changes were produced in the life of the German princes by the influence of the French court; but similar changes were produced in their power, civil and military. As Louis XIV. found it conformable to his interest to treat the several princes as princes, they felt themselves to be petty powers. An elector of Brandenburg threw an important weight in the scale of general politics, and the erection of the new electorate for Hanover seemed an occurrence of no less universal interest. The single members of the German body politic acquired an increased importance, and through them, the whole, though not in an equal proportion.

11. Thus this state, though assaulted on two sides by powerful conquerors, maintained itself entire, with few exceptions. The formidable Turkish wars, the school of courage for the Germans, rendered the sons of the princes, generals, and likewise created a common point of union for the emperor and the states. Even the wars with France contributed to this; for notwithstanding the access, which French policy found in peace, yet in war, attachment to the common country was on the whole victorious.

6. AUSTRIA AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

12. Great changes were to have been effected in the interior of the Austrian monarchy. Political unity, especially in the principal country, Hun-

gary, was to have been enforced; for this was regarded as the way to establish power. The consequence was an almost perpetual revolutionary condition, which, joined with the formidable wars in the East and West, might have become highly dangerous for the monarchy. But there was not much cause to fear France, powerful as it was, so long as the empire, undivided, served as a bulwark.

13. Of much greater danger were the disturbances in Hungary, roused by the persecutions of the protestants, having for their aim the establishment of hereditary and, if possible, absolute power; and prosecuted with a cruelty which drove even patriots to insurrection. Hungary became a hereditary monarchy; but the people preserved, on the whole the rest of their constitution, and with it their nationality. This would have been a great gain, notwithstanding the defects of the constitution, had not the taste for the necessary reforms been crushed at the same time.

Great disturbances were created during the truce of twenty years, 1664 (see p. 207), by the Palatine Wesseleng (†1670); executions took place and a tribunal of terror was erected at Eperies.—The government at length appeared willing to adopt milder measures, but Tekeli, who had fled, transformed the disturbances into a Turkish war, of the victorious termination of which, Austria availed itself for establishing the hereditary kingdom, Oct. 1687.—But this did not put an end to further plans in Vienna.

14. But one very essential advantage, that Austria derived from the disturbances, was the union of Transylvania with Hungary; the last prince Michael Abaffi II. having been made a pensioner. This was important not merely on account of the

country itself, but because the most dangerous source of Turkish wars was thereby closed.

The prince Michael Abaffi II. abdicated in 1699 in consequence of the peace of Carlowitz.—Quiet was, however, again interrupted by the rebellion of the younger Rakotzi 1703, and the complete subjugation was not accomplished till 1711.

15. The Turkish empire was in this period for the last time the terror of Germany; even in wars, Hungary was ever after a firm bulwark. True, that empire was usually in a state of anarchy; but even in such a state, experience has repeatedly shown, how difficult it is to overcome a people, animated by national pride and religious fanaticism.

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16. The changes which practical politics in general underwent, may be gathered from the history itself. Another spirit actuated them. The religious interest ceased to be the main spring of genral policy; it no longer exercised much influence on the relations of states to each other. But it did not, therefore, lose its influence on internal affairs, partly by reason of the arts of the Jesuits, partly because it was the basis of the constitutions. If the Protestants were persecuted in France and Hungary, the Catholics were no less so in Ireland.

17. The commercial and monied interest, which, introduced by Colbert, took its place, soon disclosed its influence on the governments and people, by envy, altercation and public feuds. After it was confidently believed, that the secret of the balance of trade of the states was discovered, (the climax

of folly!) an inexhaustible source of national hatred and envy was opened.

The investigations on the balance of trade, (or the loss and gain of specie, in the commerce between the nations), had their origin in England under Charles II. They flowed immediately from the error, that specie is the criterion of national wealth, and occasioned all those measures teeming with misfortune, intended to guide it by commercial restraint. In vain have theory and experience opposed; can they shake the faith of those who practice?*

18. The forms of civil administration were more determinate. Since there was no longer any prime minister in France, a division was naturally formed into certain departments, at the head of which ministers were placed. This example was more or less followed by other states, though in most of them, this separation of the branches of the administration and the organization of the cabinet formed upon it, were far from being made on fixed principles. It was seen in France, how much depended on the choice of men; but the number of great ministers remained, nevertheless, much smaller even in these times, than the number of great generals. But has it not always been so?

19. Political economy reached in this period a much higher degree of perfection, than in the preceding. It was not mere necessity that effected this; the subject stood in too close a connexion with the whole spirit of the new policy, not to engross attention. Was not the wealth of the governments the ultimate object of the wealth of the

* Among the authors of that time, consult:
Discourses on trade, by S. Jos. Child. London. 1670.

nations, which it was attempted to promote by commerce, industry and colonies? Here too Colbert's example led the way; but if he never found a worthy successor in France, how could this be expected in foreign countries?

How does Colbert compare with Sully, as a financier? He was, as well as Sully, a great reformer; but he was moreover a creator. He merited this latter appellation, partly on account of the relation in which he placed an increased and multiplied national activity (though in accordance with the narrow views of his age,) to the finances; partly by his system of loans founded on a firm credit. The great difficulties, that he had to surmount, consisted, not so much in the greater sums, which he had to procure, as in the repeated interruptions by expensive wars, while Sully was able to act undisturbed. The fabrics of both fell with their authors, because they had no support in the constitution.

20. Entirely different was it with the British financial system, which arose about the end of this period, by funding the interest of the loans, without entering into any obligation to pay back the capital, which was transferable to any one. Who at its origin had any conception of its importance and future extent? But it immediately found a support in the constitution by the guarantee of parliament; and its gradual extension in the wealth of the nation, which had been on the increase for a century. It was not, therefore, the work of one man, but a fruit of the whole social condition, as it was formed by means of and after, the British revolution.

The funding system had its origin in the establishment of the bank 1694, when it lent to the government its capital, at a lower rate of interest, than was ever done before; a con-

sequence of the existing war. The extension of this system of loans was possible, therefore, only in case of the continual increase of the national wealth of Britain. No right at home or abroad was thus violated, but even what is good may be abused.

21. In other states, the necessity was soon felt, of resorting to new resources for paying the public debt, and sinking funds were established by a reduction of interest; this measure, however, for want of being prosecuted with earnestness, was not as productive as it should have been. But the idea was suggested and continued to exist.

The first sinking fund was established in Holland, 1655; this example was followed by Pope Innocent XI. 1685. In Holland, the reduction was from 5 to 4, in the State of the Church from 4 to 3 per cent.

22. Not only the art of war, but all the affairs of war acquired in these times an altered aspect, since in France great armies were maintained even in peace, trained for battle as for parade. Other powers, great and small, (among which was Austria in particular, on account of the Hungarian disturbances), followed more or less the example of France; but England and Holland, where fears were entertained for the national freedom, followed the most slowly, and not without the perpetual resistance of the parliament and the states. The reformation and perfection of the art of war in all its parts, necessarily proceeded from the new system.

If the new art of war was carried to perfection by Turenne and others, the authors and improvers of the new military system in general were Le Tellier and his son and successor, Louvois. Instead of the 14,000 men under Henry IV.

Louis XIV. maintained since the peace of Nimwegen 140,000 men. What changes in the whole condition of society does the mere possibility imply !*

23. In an equal measure with the land forces, increased the marine, a natural consequence of the formation of the mercantile system. In the course of a few years, France assumed a station among the first maritime powers, and would have, perhaps, become the first, had she not been prevented by the coalition of the two others after the defeat at La Hogue. 1692. At no period has the French navy become again, what it was at that time. But the political influence of the maritime powers, as such, was so firmly settled, that it was impossible for it subsequently to decay.

III. *History of Colonial Affairs, from* 1661 *to* 1700.

1. The principal change, that the colonial affairs of Europe endured in this period, were caused by the participation of France, which likewise determined in a great degree, their farther developement. It was the period, when the French government first began to think seriously of colonies. Those of the British were now strongly chained to the mother country, (an example for others !) as respects their navigation and trade, by means of the renewed act of navigation (see p. 160), and prospered remarkably ; those of the other nations remained most of them in their former state.

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* Recherches sur la force de l' armée Françoise depuis Henri IV. jusqu' en 1805. à Paris. 1806.

2. The colonies, that France has attempted to found, are in general of three sorts, commercial, agricultural, and for planting; but with very different success! The character of the government, desirous of forcing every thing by regulations, had too little adaptation to commercial colonies; for agricultural colonies the character of the nation, which shuns long and quiet exertion, was not suited. It is different with the planting colonies; where the planter constitutes the overseer only, and labor is soon rewarded by ample gain. Colonies of this kind only have prospered in the hands of the French.

3. In point of commercial compulsion, the maxims of the French colonial policy coincided with those of other nations; in other respects, they were more liberal. No one, not even strangers, were obstructed in visiting the colonies and settling in them. In France they stood under no especial board, but under the minister of the marine; and in their interior, the military and civil administration was divided between the governor and the intendant, who consulted in common on affairs of moment.

4. But while Colbert did homage to the prevailing spirit of his time by the foundation of colonies, he did so no less by the forms which he gave to commerce. It was committed to chartered companies. But great as were the privileges, conferred upon them, no one of the companies subsisted long; commerce flourished, only when it was left free.

5. Foundation of the French colonial system in the West Indies. French settlements had already

been made on several of the islands there, (see p. 161) but they were the property of private individuals. Colbert made them, by purchase, the property of the government. Not till this time, therefore, could a fixed administration be introduced.

The islands Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada and the Grenadillas, the small islands Mariegalante, St. Martin, St. Christopher, St. Bartholomew, St. Croix and Tortola were purchased of their original cultivators by individuals, the last five of the Malthese. In 1664, Colbert bought them of these on the part of the government, for not quite a million of livres.—New colonists were sent out to Cayenne in 1664 by a company; but with the same want of success.*

6. But the part of St. Domingo, acquired during this period, was to become more important for France than all these possessions together. This, as well as the first settling of the other islands in general, was occasioned by the tyranny of the Spaniards, who, by treating all strangers as enemies, organized a perpetual war in the West Indies, and thus forced foreign settlers to become corsairs and warriors. Thus arose the pirate state of the bucaniers, from which proceeded the French settlements on the western portion of St. Domingo. These settlements were retained by France after the peace of Ryswick, without any express contract, a Bourbon having soon after ascended the Spanish throne. Who then anticipated their future consequence!

The expulsion of the French and English from St. Christopher gave rise to the bucaniers and pirates, since 1630.—

* Raynal Histoire philosophique et politique des isles Françaises dans les Indes occidentales. Lausanne. 1784.—An abridgment of the great work mentioned p. 30.

They founded a piratical state on Tortuga, and made settlements on the western coasts of St. Domingo, recognized and assisted by France since 1664.*

7. A privileged West Indian company was established. But it had to be abolished ten years after, being unable to support itself, on account of the smuggling trade. Such restrictions were imposed upon the trade, even after it had been made free to all the French, that it was of little benefit. So long, moreover, as the use of West Indian products was not as afterwards diffused through Europe, the colonies necessarily thrived slowly. Sugar and cotton, before the introduction of the coffee tree, were the chief products of the islands.

1664.

The West Indian company, established by Colbert in 1664, comprehended not only all the American possessions from Canada to the river Amazon, but also the coasts of Africa from Cape Verd to the cape of Good Hope, on account of the slave trade.—The company was abolished 1674. The high duties on West Indian produce and the restriction of the commerce to a few harbors concurred to keep the colonies in a feeble state.—The African trade still remained in the hands of chartered privileged companies. The Senegal company was established in 1679, at first for all the western coast from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope; although it was obliged to share it with the Guinea company,

* The History of the Bucaniers of America (by Oexmelin). London. 1742. 2 Voll.—For gaining more easily a general view:

Von Archenholz Geschichte der Flibustiers. 1803. The sources of the history of their deeds and cruelties need to be more strictly criticised, if they have been disfigured by the Spaniards. See Bryan Edwards' History of St. Domingo p. 128. Note.

after its erection in 1685, privileged to trade from Sierre Leone to the Cape.*

8. Canada, augmented by Acadia, belongs to the class of agricultural colonies; but the cultivation of the soil, limited then to Lower Conada, continued to make but small progress; since the traffic in peltry and the fisheries of Newfoundland were more and more regarded as the principal object, (see p. 123). The settlement, attempted in Louisiana, after exploring the Mississippi, was wholly unsuccessful.

After long contention with England respecting Acadia, and frequent changes, France eventually remained in quiet possession of it, by the peace of Breda, 1667.—Plaisance was founded on Newfoundland, but the fisheries were subsequently the source of perpetual quarrels with England.—La Salle sailed up the Mississippi in 1680 and made an unsuccessful attempt at a settlement.†

9. The participation of France in the East Indian trade must have been attended with yet greater obstacles, as she had to encounter more powerful rivals and possessed as yet no settlements. An East Indian commercial company was, nevertheless, chartered by Colbert; but it remained in such a languishing situation, that at the end of this period it was near its dissolution.

The French East Indian company was established in 1664 with the exclusive right of trading for fifteen years, of being the proprietors of their conquests (invested, therefore, with the right of war!) and a fund of fifteen millions. The first

* J. B. Labat nouveau voyage aux isles d' Amerique. Paris. 1692. 8 Voll. The leading work for acquiring a knowledge of the state of the French West Indies at that time.

† Description de la Louisiane par Hennequin. Paris. 1685. The author was a missionary.

experiment at conquests and settlements was made at Madagascar under the active Carron, 1665. It was to become a second Java. A commercial colony, where there was nothing to buy or sell!—A counting house was erected at Surat on Malabar in 1675.—In 1679, Pondichery was founded on Coromandel, and was afterwards the principal place. But wars in Europe, which roused a lust of conquest even in the Indies, together with the measures of the government, especially since Colbert's death, reduced it so low, that it could not maintain its monopoly. How could it have been otherwise? The mercantile system was at war with itself. In order to support domestic manufactures the importation of Indian fabrics was prohibited. The company was, therefore, only to carry on a coasting trade.

10. The increase of the British colonies, attached more firmly to the mother country by means of the renewed act of navigation, was more certain, because it depended less on the government than on the nation. The continual political and religious ferment under Charles II. and James II. was favorable for them. To what extent did not commerce and wealth even then increase? The peaceful relations, and even compacts with Spain, favored the possessions in America; and West India, on account of the progressive culture of Jamaica, began to be more important for the British. The advancement of these colonies was incontestably promoted by their free constitution, being placed under a governor and his council, at whose side stood an assembly of the deputies of the parishes. Commerce to them was free; the slave trade alone remained in the hands of a privileged company.

A compact was made with Spain 1670; the sovereignty of Britain over its possessions in that quarter was expressly

acknowledged; and the foundation was laid of permanent harmony.—In 1674, the fourth African company was established (the former ones, of Elizabeth and Charles II. had fallen to decay); but this was unable long to maintain the monopoly. Forts were founded on the Gambia (St. James), and Sierra Leone.

11. Far more flourishing than the possessions of of the British in the West Indies were those in North America. The circumstances of the times exerted a peculiarly happy influence upon them; not only by means of the increased emigration but also by the political revolutions in the parent land. The first obstacles in the way of colonization were mostly surmounted by the perseverance of the cultivators; England acquired the sole possession of the whole seaboard from Canada to Georgia; New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Carolina were formed into distinct provinces; others, as Connecticut and Rhode Island, obtained important liberties and improved constitutions.

The political alterations in the northern provinces were especially caused by the expulsion of the Dutch in 1664 from the regions near the Delaware, (New Belgium, New Holland); these possessions being retained by England in the peace of Breda. (See p. 190.) This gave rise to the provinces Delaware, (afterwards united with Pennsylvania 1682—1704); New York and New Jersey, 1665; and New Hampshire, which was separated from Massachusetts in 1691, and had a governor of its own.—The Carolinas had their origin in 1663, in the grant by Charles II. to eight lords of the country between 31° and 36° N. lat. Thus separated from Virginia (see p. 121), it became an independent state (divided, first in 1729, into North and South Carolina), to which Locke gave a constitution, the worst of his works.—The colonies in Pennsylvania were founded by the

Quaker, William Penn, son of the admiral, 1682. He received the country on the Delaware between 40 and 42° N. lat. from the king in payment for a debt, as proprietor and hereditary governor. A contract was peaceably made with the Indians. He introduced perfect religious liberty, for which there was no room in Europe; and Philadelphia and Germantown were founded. A glorious idea was for the first time realized by Penn in a remote corner of the earth; and the example has not remained fruitless!*

12. To the north of the colonies, not only the fisheries of Newfoundland remained of great importance, but England appropriated to itself, all the regions on Hudson's Bay, and with them the trade in peltry, which has since been prosecuted by a chartered company, without ever having been very lucrative.

The Hudson's Bay Company was established in 1669 with a common fund.—Some geographical discoveries were made; but disputes always existed with the French in Canada.

13. The East India trade of the British remained in the hands of the chartered company, which underwent, however, several changes, and finally had to see a second company spring up at its side. Their possessions were somewhat augmented, but their trade was not so in an equal proportion; the Dutch were too powerful competitors. An essential change was produced in Indian commerce, by

* C. D. Ebeling Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Nord-Amerika. Th. 1—7. 1793—1803. This classical work comprises the ten northern provinces, to which is added of the southern, Virginia. For their domestic history, the leading sources are the Collections of Laws and Statutes of several of them, such as New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia and N. Carolina.

the great quantity of Indian muslins and silks, imported into England since 1670. The clamor, excited by it, contributed, not a little, towards enhancing the hatred against the company.

The patent of the East India Company was renewed by Charles II. 1661, with political privileges, extended to the erection of forts.—Possession was taken of the island of St. Helena, deserted by the Dutch since the settlement of the Cape colony. This island, so important as a resting place for ships returning from the Indies, was granted to the company by the royal patent, April 3d, 1661. Bombay was acquired in 1661 by the marriage of the king; and was shortly after in 1668 conferred on the company by the crown. Bombay increased in importance as a secure harbor and a commercial place, while Surat sunk lower and lower, by the oppressions of the Great Mogul, as sovereign, the rise of pirates, like Sevagi, the influx of smugglers and French, and the decline of Persian commerce. For this cause, the government was at last formally transferred from Surat to Bombay; which, as well as Madras, was declared a presidency, in 1687, independent of Mogolian dominion.—After the natives had been expelled from Bantam, by the aid of the Dutch 1683, a factory and fort were erected at Bencoolen on Sumatra 1687 for the pepper trade. Factories were established at Hoogly and Calcutta; and since hostilities commenced with the Great Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal, 1687, exertions were made to maintain a fortress. The district of Calcutta was purchased and Fort William built 1699, it having been declared a presidency.—A great outcry was raised against the company since the introduction of cotton and silk goods, partly by the manufacturers, partly by the Levant association. Here too the mercantile system was at a loss. —Complaints were made against it in parliament 1692. It purchased, however, a renewal of its patent, Oct. 7th, 1693. A second company was finally formed, called the English East India Company, which obtained its privileges by the

advance of two million pounds sterling to the government, Sept. 5th. Not till the following period, was the intended union of the companies accomplished.*

14. Thus the Dutch still remained in possession of the Indian trade, and their company received the renewal of its charter; though De Wit was superior to the common views of his age. It was now the sole possessor of the Spice islands. Continued hostilities, with the Portuguese, gave it an opportunity to gain a firm footing on both the coasts of the peninsula of Malabar and Coromandel by the conquests of Cochin and Negapatam (see p. 154); but they continued to be the masters of the islands, and grocery wares and spices were the principal objects of commerce; essentially different from those of the British and French, which consisted more and more in manufactures and raw materials.

A compact was made with Portugal 1669, by which each party retained, in the two Indies, its existing possessions.—In the Spice islands also, the company enlarged its territory by the war of three years, and by making a firm settlement on Celebes 1669; and by the subjugation of Bantam 1683. The Dutch resisted with decided success the attempts of the French company on Ceylon, in the war of 1672.

15. In the West Indies too, the Dutch enlarged their jurisdiction by the possession of Surinam.

* F. Russel, Collection of Statutes, concerning the incorporation, trade and commerce of the East India Company, with the statutes of piracy; Lists of duties etc. and an abridgment of the company's charters. Lond. 1786. fol. This indispensable collection contains, in full, all the acts respecting the company, from 1660 till 1786, as also all the charters abridged. Its utility is increased yet more by an excellent index.

Bruce Annals etc. Voll. II. (see p. 121.)

Time and Dutch perseverance were able to form of this unhealthy country one of the most flourishing of colonies.

The colony of Surinam was first founded in 1642 by Portuguese, especially Jews, who fled from the inquisition. The English soon after settled there; but the Dutch reconquered it in 1667 and retained it in the peace of Breda.—It was sold to the West India company in 1679, and Paramaribo was founded. The plantations of Essequibo and Berbice also remained in the hands of the Dutch.

16. The Spanish colonies, now more quiet on account of the connexion of the mother country with the maritime powers, underwent no important changes either of extent or regulation. Though the missions of the Jesuits on the banks of the Paraguay and the Maragnon penetrated farther and farther, who heard any thing of it in Europe? The internal decay of the mother country seems to have had little influence upon them; what was it to them, who manufactured the commodities, with which they were supplied? They constituted a world in themselves, but a Spanish world; protected from conquests by its immense extent. The maritime cities frequently suffered severely from the attacks of the bucaniers.

The missions of the Jesuits on the Paraguay were commenced in 1609, and had already made considerable progress in the present period.

17. Since the recovery of her independence, Portugal had saved only a few fragments of her East India dominion, (see p. 161); in Brazil, she was more fortunate. The treaty with Holland in the beginning of this period ensured to her the quiet possession of it. What might not Brazil

have become, if so the government had willed? But the promotion of the smuggling trade, and the aggrandizement of territory as far as the river La Plata, by founding St. Sacrament, were regarded as more important than the promotion of colonization. But this too gained; and it was in all probability happy for Portugal, that the mines of gold were not discovered till the end of this period. In the interior the missions of the Jesuits advanced along the Maragnon, till they at last came in contact with those of the Spanish.

1681.

Almost all the northern coast was conquered by the Dutch between 1630—1640, in the possession of which they remained by the truce June 23d, 1641, till their expulsion by Juan de Viera, 1654 (see p. 157). The definitive treaty with Holland 1660 secured to the Portuguese, in consideration of a sum of money, their second country.—The great wealth in gold was discovered, first in Minas Geraes at Villa Ricca 1696. It was the work of the Paulists, a people collected under Spanish dominion in St. Paul, who, forming a state of freebooters and soldiers, turned from the slave trade to the seeking of gold, and for that purpose penetrated into the interior.

18. Even one of the northern states, Denmark, took a stand among the colonial powers, and by the possession of Tranquebar, sought to gain a share, however small, in the East Indian trade.

The Danish East India Company was founded already in 1618 under Christian IV. First attempts were made to create a commerce, and Tranquebar was obtained from the Rajah of Tanjore. But the company was dissolved in 1634. A second was, nevertheless, founded in 1670, which survived, though in a state of weakness, till 1729.

19. Thus the colonial system of the Europeans in the two Indies, while it became greater in extent, also became geographically more and more complicate. Already in this period, the wars of the Europeans reached their colonies; but the times were to come, when contests in the colonies excited wars in Europe.

FIRST PERIOD.

From 1661 *to* 1700.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE NORTH OF EUROPE IN THIS PERIOD.*

1. As the political relations of the south, fixed by the treaties of peace at Munster, Aix la Chapelle, Nimwegen and Ryswick, rested on these treaties, so the relations of the south were based on the pacifications of Oliva, Roeschild, Copenhagen and Cardis, (see p. 174). In the mutual relations of the states, therefore, there seemed to remain little matter for quarrels, provided the quiet were not interrupted by any foreign influence, or Turkish wars, against which no policy could guard.

2. But the internal relations of the individual states were unhappily so replete with the elements

* J. J. Schmauss Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft etc. II. Th. See p. 162.

of disorder, that the preservation of peace in the north was almost hopeless. Since Poland had become an elective kingdom, and unanimity of votes was requisite in the diets,—how was a peaceful election to be expected, when it was so easy for strangers to interfere? When foreign policy went so far as even to attempt to appoint a successor in the life time of the kings, a confusion was produced in the interior, which, in such a state, might at any time have caused civil wars.

1652.

A Polish royal election was henceforth nothing more than a double auction of the throne, partly in public, for the benefit of the state, partly in secret for the benefit of the voters. Polish power was, nevertheless, maintained, so long as the rude vigor of the Sarmatians was not enervated by foreign manners, and their art of war was not surpassed by that of their neighbors. In the field and in the cabinet, characters like the Roman were not rare; but a mistaken national pride allowed no correct political intelligence to become prevalent.*

3. Sweden, possessing provinces almost surrounding the Baltic, still shone as the first power of the north. But these provinces, the occasion of participation in the wars of the east and west, were a very dubious fortune; and in the interior, during the minority of Charles XI. a condition, not much better than that of Poland, seemed obtaining, had not the king, at the decisive juncture, vindicated his rights and his revenues. But the regal power thus became almost absolute; and the

1680.

* Polens Staatsveränderungen und letzte Verfassung von Fr. Joh. Jekel. Wien. 1803. 3 Th. Very valuable for the knowledge of the interior of this state.

time was to come, when Sweden should have this also, to deplore.

4. Prussia, now a sovereign state, remained, however, the province of Brandenburg, because here was the royal residence. What difference would there have been, had it been removed to Königsberg? This state partook, therefore, much more in the public contests of the south than in those of the north, except in as far as the latter were caused by the former.

Already under the elector Frederic William, Prussia became independent in her foreign policy, as far as was compatible with the duties of a state of the empire; and the autocracy was established in the interior by arbitrary taxes, the consequence of the wars. But the great institutions, which constitute the character of the Prussian state, are of later origin.

5. The participation of Russia in the affairs of the north was at first very far from decisive; for this country needed a radically new internal organization, before it could exert any external influence; and this difficulty was still more aggravated by the family relations of the reigning dynasty. But the conquest of Azoph and the settlement in the Ukraine showed what was to be expected in future.

Under the reign both of Czar Alexis (†1676) and his son Feodor (†1682), the influence of Russia on Poland was limited to taking a part in the contests of the neighboring countries. Some connexions were, nevertheless, contracted with remoter kingdoms by means of embassies, as with France in 1687; those with England originated in commercial relations.—The endeavors of Sophia, in the name of her incompetent brother Ivan, to usurp the government by the insur-

rection of the *Strelzi* (the imperial life guards) 1682, caused the dissension with her half brother Peter, which terminated in 1689 with her downfal and made Peter the ruler of Russia, Ivan (†1696) retaining nothing but the empty title.

6. Denmark, possessing greater stability in itself since the introduction of the autocracy, was subjected to an internal evil, the consequences of which were far more extended, than was probably apprehended. The dispute that prevailed between the two lines of the reigning dynasty, the royal and ducal houses of Holstein-Gottorp, gradually affected the relations of the whole north, and at last contributed materially to producing the great war, which in the following period involved the whole north in its flames.

The house of Holstein-Gottorp was derived from Adolph, the younger son of king Frederic I.; by a division of the inheritance in 1544, the ducal line of Gottorp received the half of Sleswic and Holstein, the former as the fief of Denmark, the latter as the fief of the German empire. The cause of the quarrel (since 1654), was the abolishment of the feudal allegiance of Sleswic, demanded by duke Frederic II. in the peace of Roeschild (see p. 173) through his son in law Charles Gustavus, and confirmed in the peace of Copenhagen 1660. But forced by artifice, a restoration of the feudal allegiance was made by king Christian V. by the contract of Rendsburg, July 10th, 1675; and Sleswic was subdued after the flight and remonstrance of the duke. A restoration was made, under French mediation, in the peace of Fontainebleau, 1679. But the relations with France being altered, Sleswic was again taken away, 1684, till after much strife restitution was made to the duke, under the mediation of the emperor, Brandenburg, and Saxony, in the contract at Altona, June 20th, 1689. But what enmity is harder to be appeased, than family enmity? A closer connexion was

formed with Sweden, by means of the marriage of the young duke Frederic IV. with Hedwig Sophia, eldest sister of Charles XII., since 1698. Of the results of this marriage, hereafter.

7. Such being the situation of the northern states, there was hardly any interest, that could constitute a common centre of politics, had not the disturbances of the Cossacs in some degree supplied it. These contests were both of importance in themselves, since they decided respecting the dominion of the Ukraine and its warlike inhabitants, and also very comprehensive, as the situation of this country rendered the participation of all the contiguous nations, of the Russians, the Poles, the Tartars, standing under Turkish protection, and of the Turks themselves, almost inevitable.—The war, caused by them between Poland and Russia (see p. 173), having been prosecuted generally unhappily for Poland, was terminated by the truce at Andrussov, by which the Cossacks were divided between Russia and Poland.

The Cossacks, sprung from an intermixture of free Russians, Poles and Tartars in Podolia and Volhynia (Ukraine), on both banks of the Dnieper, had been under the protection of the Poles since the fifteenth century. Stephen Bathori, made them, by a military organization 1576, an excellent bulwark against the Turks and Tartars. But the oppression of the Polish nobles, strengthened by religious hatred, urged them to rebellion under their Hetman Chmelnizki in 1648, which, although quelled, yet being renewed in 1651, impelled them to submit to Russia, June 6th, 1654. Poland was by this, plunged into a war with Russia, while that with Sweden (see p. 173), yet continued; and there was also danger of a war with the Turks, since a portion of the Cos-

sacks submitted to the Port. Poland thus saw itself forced to acquiesce in the truce of Androssov for fifteen years, Jan. 30th, 1667 (afterwards repeatedly renewed, and finally confirmed forever by the peace at Moscow, April 14th, 1686). By this truce, 1. the Cossacks on the eastern and western bank of the Dnieper were divided between Russia and Poland. 2. Russia remained in possessisn of the Palatinates of Kiev and Smolensk, and the regions on the eastern side of the Dnieper, Severia and Tsernikov.—Thus these wars deprived Poland of its best conquests ; but they were the school, where heroes and generals were formed like John Sobieski and his compeers.*

8. During these occurrences, a continual ferment existed in Poland, kept up by the endeavors of France to effect the appointment of a French prince as successor of John Casimir. But after this king, wearied of the government, finally abdicated it, the attempts of foreigners in the new election were unsuccessful, and the throne was bestowed on Michael Wisnowiecki, a Pole, who was himself conscious how little he was adapted for such a station. An unhappy Turkish war, occasioned by the Cossack disputes, and terminated by an ignominious peace, again disturbed the quiet of Poland and the north, when the death of Michael occurred at the right time to save him from being deposed.

John Casimir, brought into the French interest by his wife, Louisa Maria, of the house of Nevers, was desirous since 1660, to elevate the house of Condé to the Polish throne. Thence arose internal disturbances under Lubomirski, which led to a civil war, 1665. After the death of the queen, 1667, the king abdicated Sept. 17th, 1668. Six foreigners came forward as candidates for the throne, but

* Von Müller von dem Ursprunge der Cosacken ; in Sammlung Russischer Geschichten. B. IV.

destined for a Polish noble, Michael had to ascend it. The Cossacks rebelled again under Doroscensko, who joined the Turks 1672. This gave the Turks a pretence for a war, which was carried on most unhappily for the Poles, though in alliance with Russia. Kamieniec was lost, and the Turks penetrated into the heart of Poland, favored by the internal commotions; till Michael in the peace of Oct. 18th, 1672, consented to the emancipation of the Cossacks and a tribute. The nation was unable to tolerate such a peace; the war was, therefore, renewed 1673; a victory was gained at Chozim under John Sobieski Nov. 11th. The king had died Nov. 10th.

9. The election of John Sobieski seemed to be necessarily of great moment, not merely for Poland, but for the whole north. Hardened, however, at an early age, into a soldier and general, he never ripened into a ruler. He wiped away the ignominy of the last peace; but thorough internal improvements entered not into the horizon of a Polish noble; and largely as Poland participated in the contests of the north, it was all transitory, because it was purely personal. 1674. May 19th.

The Turkish war was terminated by the separate peace at Zurawno Oct. 16th, 1676, by which 1. The tribute was abolished. 2. Kamieniek and a third of Ukraine are kept by the Turks. But even this part was wrested from them by the Russians, to whom it was secured by the truce of Radzyn, 1680.*

10. While the Cossack disputes thus occupied Poland and Russia, Sweden had allowed itself to be impelled by France to engage in the Dutch-Ger-

* Histoire de Jean Sobiesky, roi de Pologne, par Mr. l' Abbé Coyer, à Warsowie. 1771. 3 T. As faithful as a very spirited narrative can be.

1675. man war, and to a diversion against Brandenburg, and was thus entangled in a war with Denmark and the German empire. It not only June 28th. lost its provinces, but also what was of no less value, its military renown at Fehrbellin. The former it recovered by the instrumentality of France in the peace of St. Germain and Fontainebleau (see p. 196): but to restore the latter, there was first need of a king, who like Charles XII. was a soldier.

The foreign policy was ever determined, principally, by subsidies, which it drew, sometimes from Spain, sometimes from France. How could that government have a fixed policy, which offered its aid to the highest bidder?

11. A new war having broken out with the Turks, Poland, and, soon after, Russia, also formed a union with Austria. The relief of Vienna (see p. 207) was in truth the most glorious day in the life of Sobiesky; but fortune seems subsequently to have favored him less, and he had to purchase the participation of Russia by changing the truce of Andrussov into a permanent peace. Sobiesky did not live to see the end of the war; and Russia, far more than Poland, harvested the fruits of the long contest.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to conquer Kamieniek and Moldavia, 1684—1687. Russia engaged in the war, 1686. Conquests were made by the Austrians in Hungary, as by the Russians of the Ukraine against the Tartars 1688; but the internal relations of Russia impeded the progress of the war, till Peter I. became sole ruler. Azoph was besieged and taken, 1695, and 1696. In the truce Dec. 25th, 1698, (confirmed for thirty years, 1700), Russia retained the fortified Azoph with its dependencies, with free trade on

the Black sea. Poland by the peace at Carlowitz (see p. 208), recovers Kamieniek and Podolia, which had before been ceded.

12. Thus ended these wars, without a decision of the fate of the north, but not without the preparation for a decision. The change of rulers in all the northern kingdoms about this time, raising two of the most extraordinary men to the throne, produced in the ensuing period revolutions, far greater, than all the Cossack wars could have effected.

SECOND PERIOD.

From 1700 *to* 1740.

FIRST PART.

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE SOUTH OF EUROPE IN THIS PERIOD.

1. Three great wars had been carried on against Louis XIV. for the maintenance of the balance of power, and this period opens with a fourth, still more protracted; principally for the same purpose; while the north was suffering under a contest no less bloody, which was entirely distinct from that of the west. When this was finally suspended by the treaties of peace of Utrecht and Rastadt, all the claims were by no means adjusted; and Europe afterwards remained in a fluctuating condition, from which proceeded a new conflagration; and, after this was allayed, there followed a web of negotiations, of alliances, and counter alliances, that characterizes, in a striking manner, the increasing intricacy of the relations of the European political system. But notwithstanding all imperfections, the principal object was attained; and this is always the first question of the intelligent observer.

2. But in this disposition of things, the mercantile system lost none of its influence. This was a natural consequence of the ever increasing impor-

tance of colonies, since their productions, especially coffee, sugar and tea, began to come into more general use in Europe. The great influence, which these commodities have had not only on politics, but also on the reformation of social life, is not easily calculated. Apart from the vast gains, resulting to the nations from commerce and to the governments from duties,—what an agency have coffee houses had in the capitals of Europe as central points of political, mercantile and literary transactions? In a word, without those productions, would the states in the west of Europe have acquired their present character?

3. The previous great wars had already plunged most of the states in debts, which were accumulated by new wars, and in general by the increased wants. Men were thus led to use paper money on a large scale; but from ignorance of its nature, sometimes too confidently, by making the wants of the governments and not of the circulation the measure of its abundance, sometimes too timidly, by regarding the mass of specie, as the pledge for its redemption, often to the great detriment of the states. But the resources of governments were still always temporarily increased by it; and without it they would never have been capable of their great exertions; and happily they did not at once discover, how far public credit and the system of loans may be carried.

The expression paper money is frequently used in a more comprehensive sense, (improperly however), of all papers, which the state issues on its credit, in as far as they may be transferred to a third person (as bonds, especially stocks,

etc.). In a narrower sense, paper money can denote that paper only which serves as a substitute for specie, i. e. which is destined immediately and solely for general circulation, as a general medium of payment. This is either issued directly by the government (assignats, treasury notes, etc.), or by associations, chartered for the purpose, called banks; (bank-notes or bills;) the relations of which to the government may be very different, (free banks, government banks). All paper money, issued either directly or indirectly by the governments, must be insecure, because governments cannot always be masters of their wants; the paper money of free banks can lose its credit only by their own fault; as no external causes force them to permit its accumulation.

I. *History of the Public Contests in Europe.**

4. The great question, which engrossed the attention of the cabinets of the west since the peace of Ryswick, and which gave rise not only to a te-

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* Collections of state papers. Besides the general works (see p. 3):

Rousset recueil d' actes, négociations etc. depuis la paix d' Utrecht. T. I—XXI. 8vo. à Amsterdam. 1728. etc. It comprises the period of 1713—1748.

Historical works are:

Mémoires pour servir à l' histoire du XVIII. siécle, contenant les négociations, traités etc. concernant les affaires d' état par Mr. De Lamberty. à la Haye. 1724. T. I—XIV. 4to. The leading work for the period 1700—1718. A full and impartial narration with the documents inserted. The author, having passed a long time in the diplomatic career, wrote this work during his old age, in retirement.

Mémoires de Mr. de Torcy, pour servir à l' histoire des négociations depuis le traité de Ryswick, jusqu' à la paix d' Utrecht. T. I—III. 12mo. Paris. 1756. The author was a French minister and ambassador.

Mémoires et négociations secrètes de diverses cours de l'

dious war, but also to most of the public contests of this period, was that respecting the Spanish succession, the Spanish line of the house of Hapsburg promising to become extinct with Charles II. This subject, at all events highly important for the system of Europe, was viewed from the side of right and from the side of policy. But the whole was an affair of the cabinets; the nation,—and yet it had its states,—was not consulted.

5. On the side of right, three great competitors came into consideration, laying claim to the whole monarchy; Lôuis XIV., as husband of Maria Theresa, the elder daughter of Charles II. for the Dauphin; Leopold I. as husband of the younger sister Margaret Theresa, and by right of the will of Philip IV., for one of his sons by his last marriage; and the elector of Bavaria, in behalf of his minor son Joseph Ferdinand, as grandson of Margaret Theresa. The right of birth was in favor of the Dauphin; but he was opposed by the most

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Europe par Mr. de La Torre. á la Haye. 1726. T. I—V. 8vo. They go from 1698 to 1714.

The political journals of the day, moreover, now become sources of history; but having been naturally written in the spirit of the country, where they appeared, they must be estimated accordingly. The most important are:

Mercure historique et politique de la Haye. From 1686 1782. Vol. 1—187.

Die Europäische Fama. Th. 1—360. (from 1702—1734). Die neue Europäische Fama (from 1735—1756.) Th. 1—197. Strongly Antigallic.

As a sketch:

F. G. Häberlin voltständiger Entwurf der politischen Histoire des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Th. I. 1748. It goes from 1700 to 1740. A simple chronological narration of the occurrences, with an index of the authorities.

solemn renunciations of his mother of all Spanish hereditary rights. After him, the elector of Bavaria was the next male heir; but it was in the power of Leopold to anticipate both, had he known how to improve the moment. The duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II., demanded only a part.*

6. The political point, from which the cabinets, especially the maritime powers, viewed so important a question, was the maintenance of the balance of power. Could it be otherwise in an age, when this had become the basis of politics? Could it be indifferent to them, what was to become of Spain and particularly the Spanish Netherlands? It was regarded as an axiom, that the union of the whole Spanish monarchy with Austria or France, especially with the latter, would destroy the equilibrium, above all if the two crowns should be united on one head. To prevent this, Louis XIV. had already promulgated his intention to transfer the claims of the Dauphin to his younger son, Philip, duke of Anjou, and Leopold I. declared himself ready to transfer his to the Archduke Charles, his younger son by his last marriage.

7. In Madrid, during the life time of the king, the Marquis of Harcourt, the French ambassador, soon acquired an ascendency over the count Harrach from the imperial court. But Louis XIV. knew very well, that the consent of the maritime powers

* A deduction of the right in favor of Austria may be found in Thucelii Reichs-Staats-Acten. T. I. II.

La défense du droit de Marie Thérese Reine de France à la succession d' Espagne par Mr. D' Anbusson. Paris. 1699.

was necessary; and the first treaty of partition concerted with them, which assigned to the elector, Spain itself with the colonies, and to the other two candidates the provinces in Italy and the Netherlands; seemed to accord with the interest of each party and of the whole system, when the electoral prince was prematurely snatched away by an unhappy fate.* 1698. Oct. 11th. 1699. Feb. 6th.

8. Notwithstanding a second treaty of partition, signed by France and the maritime powers, little hope could remain of a peaceful compromise, since Austria not only refused to acquiesce in it, but in Spain itself the idea was prevalent, both with the king and nation, that any division would be a misfortune for the monarchy. The cession of the provinces in Europe was regarded as a loss at the same time of strength and trade. And yet without this division, a compromise was hardly possible. How much blood and money would have been spared by the exercise of a little reason?

1700. M'ch 25th.

9. The approach of death and the Cardinal Portocarrero finally induced Charles II. to make a will, in which he bequeathed the whole Spanish monarchy, undivided, to Philip of Anjou, and in case of his refusal, substituted for him the Archduke Charles. The death of the king, that occurred soon after, left Louis XIV. only the choice between accepting the whole

1700. Oct. 2d. Nov. 1st.

* Besides the above: Mémoires et negociations sécrètes du Comte de Harrach par Mr. de La Torre. à la Haye. 1720. 2 Voll. 8vo. go from 1695 to the first treaty of partition.

testament, or observing the treaty of partition. Not without serious reflection—how gladly would he have avoided war—did he resolve on the former.

10. Philip V. was acknowledged both in Spain and in all the colonies and provinces; even the peace with the maritime powers seemed of possible continuance. But Leopold II. felt himself the more deeply wounded, the more he was forced to admit, that by his own fault he had lost the Spanish monarchy.

11. Preparations were made on both sides, and exertions before the commencement of the war to procure allies. France having gained the duke of Savoy by a marriage, and the duke of Mantua by money, acquired, beforehand, a strong hold in Italy. In the Spanish Netherlands, the French availed themselves of the first moment for garrisoning the fortresses with their troops, and the disorders, that broke out again in Hungary under Rakotzi, were very much in their favor. But the acquisition in Germany of Maximilian II. elector of Bavaria, who was joined by his brother, the elector of Cologne, seemed necessarily to be the most important. Thus could one of the first German princes, on the frontiers of Austria, be made its antagonist.

1702.

12. But all these preparations were as unable to prevent the rise of a powerful alliance on the other side, as France was to maintain the predominance. In Germany, Austria immediately found allies in the new king of Prussia, in several other states and soon in the whole empire; and the maritime powers, already irritated by the occupation of

the Spanish Netherlands, were likewise summoned to war, when Louis XIV. in violation of the treaty of Ryswick, after the death of James II., acknowledged his son as king. And although the British throne and the dignity of hereditary stadtholder were at the same time vacated by the death of William III. yet the system under his successor Anne, and in the Netherlands remained the same, and a closer connexion of all was the consequence.

1701. Sept. 16th. 1702. M'ch 8th.

The Grand Alliance was concluded at the Hague, Sept. 7th, 1701, between the emperor, England, and Holland; the object was the conquest of the Spanish provinces and colonies. The alliance was subsequently strengthened by the accession of the king of Prussia, Jan 20th 1702, of the German empire, after the previous associations of the circles Sept. 28th, 1702; of Portugal in consideration of subsidies and promised aggrandizement, at the expense of Spain and the colonies, May 16th, 1703; and finally of the dissatisfied duke of Savoy, Oct. 25th, 1703.

13. Considered in itself, the new alliance could hardly appear compact; since the projects of the maritime powers, which aimed at a partition, but ill agreed with the demands of Austria, which desired the whole. But it acquired an unexampled solidity, when men of high minds and rare talents, alike bound together by principle and interest, were raised to its head. A triumvirate, like that of Eugene, Marlborough, and Heinsius is unexampled in history; but not merely their greatness, their very weaknesses made the allianee thus indissoluble. Would it have been so without the avarice and ambition of Marlborough, without the

obstinate narrowness of Heinsius? The noble Eugene alone is without a blemish.

The personal situation of these men rendered their sphere of action extensive; of Eugene as a general, and since 1703 president of the council of war; of Heinsius, as grand pensionary, without a stadtholder; of Marlborough, at once as a general, a statesman, and the head of a party. He ruled in the cabinet as in the field, so long as the party of the Whigs was at the helm; a crafty, uncertain, fascinating hero.*

14. Though the war, therefore, in its origin, was a war between Austria and France, the flame could not but soon spread over the west of Europe. The country however, the possession of which was, in fact, the subject of dispute, remained a secondary scene; Italy, the Netherlands, and above all Germany, again had the melancholy lot of becoming the principal theatres.

The war was begun on the side of Austria, by Eugene's invasion of Italy, July 1701, and occupation of Lombardy. Not till after the capture of Villeroi, Feb. 1, 1702, did he find in Vendome, the Cynic with the eye of a general, a more worthy foe. A combat took place, with doubtful issue, at Luzzara Aug. 16th. The war was commenced on the upper Rhine, by the conquest of Landau, Sept. 10th, and in the Netherlands 1702, where Marlborough first entered the field. But in 1703 the war first became more generally spread both in Germany by the formal alliance of Bavaria with France, and the, finally unsuccessful, invasion of Tyrol by the elector, June—Sept.; in Italy by the defection of the duke of Savoy to the interest of the allies, severely as he was at first punished for it by France; and in Spain itself, as

* Mémoires du Prince Eugène de Savoye, écrits par luiméme. Weimar. 1810. 8vo. Remarkable in a military and psychological view; they are not written however by himself, but by the late prince of Ligne.

it was possible since the accession of Portugal to the grand alliance to transfer the war to this country by sending there the archduke Charles. The campaign of 1704 was the first decisive one for Germany. A great victory was obtained by the allies at Hochstädt or Blenheim, Aug. 13th. Bavaria was conquered and Germany freed. Such a day Louis XIV. had never witnessed.—The war was begun in Spain between Charles and Philip; it was undecisive, but the more destructive as a civil war, Charles being chiefly supported in Catalonia, Philip in Castile.—The operations commenced at the same time at sea, especially on the Mediterranean, made the English masters of Gibraltar Aug. 4th.—After the death of Leopold I. May 5th, 1705, the war was kept up with equal spirit under Joseph I. A vain attempt was made by Marlborough and Louis, prince of Baden, to penetrate into the interior of France. But the campaign of 1706 gave the allies both the Netherlands, after Marlborough's victory at Ramillies May 23d, (his adversary was Villeroy), and Lombardy by the relief of Turin Sept. 7th, so soon as Eugene had no Vendome to encounter.—The consequences were; the entire evacuation of Lombardy by the French by a convention at Milan, March 13th, 1707; the conquest of Naples, almost without resistance (in May), and even an attempt, of no avail however, against Toulon (July and August). Great exertions were made by Louis XIV. for reconquering the Netherlands, 1708, frustrated by the defeat at Oudenarde, July 11th, which was followed by the siege and taking of the French fortified place, Lille, Oct. 23d. Even a Vendome and a Boufflers were not sufficient to meet the combined abilities of a Marlborough and Eugene.

15. Such defeats, united with internal misfortunes, reduced France to a situation, which Louis XIV. had never experienced. But he has the reputation of having borne calamity better than his enemies did success. Ready to resign all

that he seemed unable to maintain, he showed himself inflexible in every thing, that would have been a moral degradation. The negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg are the most instructive school for princes in misfortune. Perseverance here met with its reward; the allies slighted the opportunity, because they did not desire peace; and a few years after, Louis concluded one on terms, which he would then have deemed impossible.

The negotiations were commenced March 1709 between the president Rouillé and the Dutch delegates Büys and Van der Düssen, at first at Moerdyck and afterwards at Woerden; till Torcy himself, the minister of foreign affairs, being sent to the Hague (in May), appeared in the ante-chamber of the grand pensionary.—The demands of the allies were in general: the entire cession of the whole Spanish monarchy in favor of Austria; in particular: of the Dutch: barriers (garrisoning the boundary fortresses) in the Spanish Netherlands, and the restoration of the tariff of 1664; of the English: the acknowledgment of the Protestant succession, and aggrandizement in the colonies; of the emperor and empire: the restoration of things to the footing of the peace of Münster.—All this was conceded; (preliminaries, framed in forty articles, May 28th); and was more needed for the indemnification of the confederates? for the security of Europe? But Louis XIV. could not sign, without dishonoring himself, the deposition of Philip of Spain by his own aid (Art. 4. 37). The negotiations for peace were broken off.

16. The war proceeded; still unfavorably for France; and yet even after the victory at Malplaquet, the allies were unable to resolve on a peace; though they were as little able to penetrate into the interior of his provinces. While Vendome was victorious in Spain, Villars and Boufflers defended

with spirit the frontiers of the kingdom; and the results of the victories in the field were confined to the taking of some places.

A great battle was fought at Malplaquet, Sept. 11th, 1709. Not much less honor accrued to Villars and Boufflers from the defeat, than Marlborough and Eugene acquired by their victory. Mons was taken Oct. 20th, Douai and some other places 1710. Before the end of the year, the advantages obtained by the archduke Charles in Spain were frustrated by Vendome, even after the conquest of Madrid, 1710. French generals made amends to Philip V. for the losses he sustained from French women and ambassadors. But his antagonist Charles, found neither a Vendome nor a Berwick.—The negotiations of peace were renewed to no purpose by d' Huxelles and Polignac with the Dutch, March—July. Louis consented even to furnish subsidies against his grandson. But the allies demanded that he himself, nay, he alone, should depose him.

17. But the great question was not, after all, to be determined by the sword. An alteration was produced in all relations by the fall of the whig ministry in England, which soon involved the fall of Marlborough, and by the death of the emperor Joseph I. The tories had insisted for a long time on the termination of a war, which England was prosecuting at a vast expense without any immediate gain. So soon, therefore, as they obtained the rudder, the way seemed open for a separate peace. And when, after the death of Joseph I., his brother and successor Charles VI. became the only support of the house of Hapsburg, it could hardly appear politic for the maritime powers to join on his brow the imperial crown, with that of Hungary and Bohemia, and the Spanish.

1711. April 17th.

The fall of the whig ministry was accomplished by the dismissal of Sunderland and Godolphin, Aug. 10th. A new ministry of the tories was formed under Harley, the earl of Oxford, and St. John, viscount of Bolingbroke. Secret negotiations were soon entered upon with France by Gauthier and afterwards by Prior. Carefully as the semblance of a separate peace was avoided, there was an end to the confidence of the confederates; and since Marlborough's removal, Jan. 1712, (who was followed by Ormond, merely for appearance sake), and Villars' victory at Denain, July 24th, the fortune of war turned in favor of France. The preliminaries of peace between France and England Oct. 8th, 1711, were communicated to the allies as a mere project, but the condition of war ceased.*

18. This separation of the alliance led, of course, to a peace, but one far different from that, which might have been obtained a short time before; and as Holland was still regarded as the centre of politics, Utrecht was selected as the place for the meeting of the congress. The nature of things now rendered it necessary, that instead of a general peace, a series of treaties should be concluded, partly between Spain, partly between France and each of the allies, in all of which treaties, each party determined its own advantages. But neither respecting these, nor respecting the principal question, the fate of the Spanish monarchy, were the allies agreed among themselves. While Austria selfishly persisted in its own demands, England, and even the rest, were not averse to leaving the Spanish throne to the house of Anjou, (with the exception of its European provinces); provided

* Memoirs of J. Duke of Marlborough, by W. Coxe. 1820. 6 Voll. 8vo. From original papers. A leading work for this period.

there should be no union of the crowns of France and Spain on one head. Distrust arose, moreover, between England and Holland themselves, since each was jealous of the commercial privileges, that the other wished to reserve for itself. Could France commence a negotiation under more promising auspices?

The congress opened at Utrecht, Jan. 29th, 1712 at first between the plenipotentiaries of France, England and Savoy only; those of the other allies arrived in February. The dissolution of the alliance was already decided by the determination, that each of the confederates should submit his claims singly.—The contests between the allies increased, while the negotiations were almost entirely in the hands of the English, and were carried on in secret directly between the cabinets of St. James and Versailles. The final results were the separate treaties of peace of the other allies, leaving Austria and the empire to themselves. Preliminary contracts: *a.* Mutual renunciation of France by the house of Anjou, and of Spain by the French princes, June 22d, 1712. *b.* A compact between Austria and France respecting the evacuation of Catalonia and the neutrality of Italy, March 14th, 1713 at the instigation of England. These were followed April 11th by the following treaties of peace with France.

1. Peace between France and England. *a.* Acknowledgment of the protestant succession in England, in favor of the house of Hanover, and the removal of the pretender from France. *b.* The crowns of Spain and France should be forever separated. *c.* The harbor of Dunkirk should be fitted up. *d.* The cession to England of Newfoundland (with the reservation of Cape Breton and a participation in the fisheries); of Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries; of Hudson's bay and the contiguous regions; and the French portion of St. Christopher. *e.* France should carry on no farther trade to the Spanish colonies than under Charles II.

and should possess no particular privileges there.—A more advantageous treaty of commerce was made for England.—*a.* The ancient prohibitions were repealed. *b.* Perfect reciprocity was established, and treatment on the footing of the most favored nations. *c.* It was recognized as a principle, that, with the exception of the contraband, restricted merely to the necessaries of war, free ships make free goods.

2. Peace between France and the Netherlands. *a.* A barrier was established against France. The Spanish Netherlands were, therefore, relinquished to the republic, that she might resign them to Austria after the formation of a barrier treaty. *b.* France was restored to the possession of Lille and the other frontier places which she had lost.—A commercial treaty, advantageous for the republic, was made at the same time. The rate of duties was diminished, and the free introduction of herring permitted.

3. Peace between France and Savoy. *a.* The boundaries were established favorably for Savoy. *b.* Savoy received the island of Sicily as a kingdom, and *c.* reserved its claims to Spain in case of the extinction of the house of Anjou.

4. Peace between France and Portugal. The boundaries were fixed in South America, by which Portugal retains the territory between the Maragnon and the river Oyapok.

5. Peace between France and Prussia. *a.* France recognized the Prussian royal title, *b.* relinquished to Prussia, in the name of the king of Spain, the upper quarter of Guelderland; *c.* recognized the king of Prussia as sovereign of Neufchatel. *d.* Prussia resigned to France its inherited rights to the principality of Orange.

Spain concluded peace at Utrecht with England and Savoy, July 13, 1713.

1. Peace between Spain and England. *a.* Spain relinquished to England Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; *b.* Spain grants to England (conformably to the *assiento* or contract signed in Madrid on the 29th of March) the right, which France had before possessed, of importing for thirty

years 4800 negroes into America; and the permission to despatch every year a ship of 500 tons to Porto bello. *c.* It should confer neither on France nor any other power commercial liberties to the Indies, nor should it alienate any of its possessions.

2. Peace between Spain and Savoy. *a.* Cession of Sicily. *b.* Repetition of the condition contracted with France. So afterwards in the treaties of peace with Holland and Portugal, June 26th, 1714.

The most important plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were: from France, the Marshal d' Huxelles, Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) Polignac, and M. Menager. From England, the Earl of Stafford. From the Netherlands, Van Buys and Van der Düssen. From the emperor, Count Sinzendorf. From Spain, Count Maffei, etc.*

10. Thus the emperor and empire were left to themselves, in concluding the peace. Though most of the provinces of Spain were reserved for the former, the latter on the contrary was offered only the foundation of the peace of Ryswick, and a limit of time was peremptorily set to both, which was not accepted. The war still continued, especially on the Rhine, with little success for Austria. The consequence was a renewal of the negotiations between the two, the next winter at Rastadt, which led to a peace, that was afterwards changed into a peace of the empire at Baden. Austria obtained

* Actes, mémoires et autres piéces authentiques concernant la paix d' Utrecht. 1714. T. I—VI. 12mo. The most complete collection of the state papers.

Letters and correspondence of the R. H. Lord Visc. Bolinbroke by Gibb. Parke. Lond. 1798. Vol. I—IV. 8vo. containing the political correspondence of the minister during his administration from 1710—1714.

Histoire du congrés de la paix d' Utrecht, comme aussi de celle de Rastadt et Bade. Utrecht. 1716. 12mo.

its share; the empire on the contrary—no longer in union with itself by means of the separate treaties of peace—went away empty; and the pleasing dream of a complete restoration to the footing of the peace of Munster—what a lesson it would have been for the policy of conquest!—vanished.

The war continued on the Rhine 1713; Landau was taken, Aug. 20th, and Freiburg Nov. 16th by Villars. Negotiations were commenced between him and Eugene at Rastadt Nov. and lasted till March 1714. The peace was finally concluded March 6th under the name of preliminaries, which were afterwards offered to the empire for acceptance. Principal conditions; *a.* Austria should take possession of the Spanish Netherlands, after having agreed upon a barrier for Holland. *b.* Austria should continue in possession of its territories in Italy, viz. Naples, Sardinia, Milan and the *Stati degli presidi.* *c.* Restitution should be made of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been put under the ban of the empire, in consideration of the acknowledgment of the electorate of Hanover. *d.* The empire received only the restoration of the state, that existed before the war, by the confirmation of the peace of Münster, Nimwegen and Ryswick.—The preliminaries proffered to the empire were accepted and ratified at Baden, in Switzerland, Sept. 7th.

21. The decision of the contest was, therefore, as far as respected the principal object, effected by the separation of the provinces in Europe, which would have been willingly relinquished even before the war. But the contest was unhappily not wholly decided; though the war ceased for the present. Between the two leading competitors, Spain and Austria, no formal peace subsisted, because neither would resign its pretensions. The fluctuating condition, in which the European sys-

tem remained for ten years, was thence inevitable, and the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht was one of the most difficult problems for policy.

21. The consequences, which this war and the treaties of peace, by which it was terminated, had for Europe, were alike various and important. As the Spanish monarchy belonged to a branch of the house of Bourbon, the ancient rivalship disappeared between France and Spain, for which Europe had suffered so severely. But it was soon made evident, that the bands of consanguinity are by no means so strong, when they have become political bands. The consequences, feared for the equilibrium of Europe, did not ensue; though France was, in fact, so utterly exhausted, that the closest connexion with Spain could excite but little apprehension.

22. The peculiar importance of the disjunction of the provinces from Spain for the system of Europe, arose from the circumstance, that its Netherlands became the property of Austria. Ever the immediate object of the conquests for France, it was one of the prevalent maxims of policy, that their maintenance was the interest of all, and the condition of the preservation of the balance of power. Did not the fate of the republic, of the German empire, and with it that of Austria itself, depend upon it?

23. One of the most important consequences of these wars for the European system, was the enlarged influence of England. Its system of loans (see p. 217) made it possible to give to its treaties of subsidies an unparallelled extension; and

the part it had already begun to take again in the policy of the continent, was enlarged and strengthened. The acquisition of the Low Countries by Austria, seemed to render its connexion with that country inseparable; the republic was blindly devoted to it; while Savoy and the single states of the empire were to be had for subsidies. The peace of Utrecht was concluded under its direction, and happily, therefore, the maintenance of this peace appeared its natural policy. Ought we to be astonished then, that the management of the affairs of Europe were for a long time in its hands?

24. Though the war had possessed less the character of a naval war, in the peace, the mercantile system began to manifest itself in all its strength. Grants of commercial privileges of the highest importance, were made the conditions of peace for the maritime powers, and even cessions of country were made, partly on account of commerce. The foundation of the great commercial preponderance of England was in reality laid by the peace of Utrecht, and with it, the germ of two future mighty wars; but these consequences necessarily had a gradual developement, and the republic still remained for a considerable period the first commercial state of our quarter of the globe.

25. The situation of the single states was altered not merely by the war, but partially also by the change of governments. In Spain, a new dynasty ascended the throne; but Philip V. was not the prince to raise up a fallen kingdom. To this purpose his wife Elizabeth of Parma would have been more adequate, had she not been swayed, more by

the interest of her family, than by the interest of the state. But nothing was too dear to her, when the question related to providing for her sons; and without gaining any thing for itself, Spain acquired by her means a greater influence—unhappily, however, a pernicious influence—on the system of Europe, than it had had under the last of the house of Hapsburg.

26. Portugal, bound to England during the war by the ties of policy, after its termination, was bound still more closely by the ties of commerce. But though the treaty of Methuen was injurious to industry, did the fault lie in the treaty, or in the nation and government? If the woollen manufactures no longer found support, were there no other? Was there no soil to be cultivated? But while Portugal found in England a market for its wines, the political bands were tightened at the same time with the mercantile, and rendered almost indissoluble. 1703.

27. The greatest change, however, occurred in France. Louis XIV. outlived the war but a short time, and in his great grandson Louis XV. left a weak and minor child for his successor. His authority died with him, and, contrary to his will, his nephew Philip of Orleans obtained the regency, with all the plenitude of power. Without morals and without sense of shame, he was regarded as more profligate, than he actually was, and the long continued anxiety respecting the life of the young king, who was, moreover, weakly, had a strong influence on the politics of the time, and especially on the relations with the 1715. Sept. 1st. till 1723.

Spanish line. Who, in such event, was to succeed, Philip of Spain or the Duke of Orleans? The mistrust between the two was therefore as natural as it was momentous; since it could not but determine foreign connexions.

Changes took place in the bureau of foreign affairs. A *Conseil* was established under Marshal d' Huxelles as president. The patriotic and honest Torcy resigned 1716 after nineteen years of service (see p. 198). After the abolition of the *Conseil*, the infamous Dubois was appointed secretary of state 1718, and at last prime minister 1722.*

28. In England also, after the death of Anne, by the most wonderful course of destiny, the house of Hanover succeeded that of the Stuarts. Protestantism gave them the throne, and it was protestantism that was to preserve it to them. No new maxims, no new continental policy, (for this had not been first determined by the possession of Hanover), could therefore become prevalent; it was the ancient policy of William III., modified according to the circumstances of the times. Thus harmony was established between the nation and the government; and, fortunately for the new dynasty, there was for a long time yet a pretender, who did not permit these maxims to be forgotten.

1714. Aug. 12th.

The natural consequence of this policy was the fall of the tory ministry, which had made itself more than suspected by its conduct towards the pretender, 1714, and the restoration of the superiority of the whigs.

29. In this war, the republic had become powerful on land, from being powerful on sea. It had increased the burden of her debts to 350 millions

* St. Simon Mémoires sécrets de la régence (Oeuvres Vol. 7, 8.) See p. 187.

of guilders; so dear was the purchase of the barrier treaty, in which she saw the security of her existence. She drew, moreover, a weighty lesson from this war, that she had little to gain from participation in the contests of the greater powers; and from this time, it was the fundamental axiom of her policy to keep as free from them as possible. For a power, that had taken its station among the first, was not such a retiring more dangerous than participation? By lulling into slumber her military energies, especially in a country which had had no stadtholder and captain-general, since William III., a decline in the opinion of the other powers was a consequence, which, though gradual, was inevitable and all important. A state passes for the value it sets upon itself.

A barrier treaty with Austria was signed at Antwerp, under the mediation of England, Nov. 15th. 1715. 1. The Republic, by relinquishing the Low Countries to the emperor, acquires 2. the exclusive right of holding garrisons in Namur, Dornik, Menin, Warneton, Ypres and Fort Knocke, and in common with Austria in Ruremonde.—But what are fortresses without soldiers?

30. The Austrian monarchy was aggrandized by the possession of provinces, of Naples, Sardinia, Milan and the Low Countries. Whether this aggrandizement was to be a gain or a loss, depended on the spirit of the administration. Adapted for serving, in connexion with the empire, as a bulwark to the main body of the monarchy, they yet, if weakly defended, offered so many points of attack to an enemy; and under an administration like that of Charles VI. the truth of this was soon experienced.

The possession of Transylvania was secured in 1711 by the suppression of the disturbances caused by Francis Rakoczi.

31. The German empire, internally torn by the policy of Bavaria, was made whole again by the peace, as far as it could be so. The example, however, was given and remained not without results. But the times approached, when entirely different schisms were to arise.

32. Two new regal thrones were erected, the one for the house of Brandenburg in Prussia (see below), the other for the house of Savoy in Sicily, which it soon after had to exchange for Sardinia. Both were then states of second rank, but differed in this, that the former was yet to have its greatest rulers, the other had already enjoyed them. This difference afterwards affords the criterion of their influence on the system of Europe.

33. The great point on which the politics of the west of Europe were now to turn, (in the east, the Turkish wars, that soon ensued, formed an exception) was the preservation of the peace of Utrecht, which was in a most tottering condition; and the diplomacy of the cabinets almost universally aimed at this, either directly or indirectly; because on it depended almost every other great political interest.

34. Those powers were most interested in the preservation of the peace, which had gained by it the greatest advantages. At the head of these was England, under whose direction it had been concluded. Its flourishing commerce with all parts of the world was in several essential particulars

founded on the conditions of this peace; and the protestant succession was no less confirmed by it. France had an equal interest from other causes; for with this peace was involved the renunciation of the French throne by the house of Anjou, to which Philip of Orleans was indebted for the regency. Austria had to seek in the peace of Utrecht for the secure possession of the conceded provinces; and even the republic, indifferent as she soon showed herself in the Italian contests, could enjoy her new privileges only in time of peace. Such an interest occasioned closer relations between those powers; even the ancient rivalship between France and England expired, so long as personal interest outweighed the interest of the state.

An alliance was formed between England and Austria, May 25th, 1716, and with France and the Republic Jan. 4th, 1717, both for the preservation of quiet.

35. Entirely different purposes were cherished in Spain. The loss of the provinces, especially of those in Italy, was not forgotten. And though Philip V. would never have disquieted himself on the subject, he was, on the other hand, under the dominion of persons, who were interested in the renewal of the war. Queen Elizabeth, already mother of two sons, began, even while they were in their cradle, to meditate a provision for them. Through her instrumentality, an Abbé, her countryman Alberoni, had made his way to the elevation of Cardinal and ruling minister; not without the talents of the great statesman, had he known how to distinguish between the statesman and the political projector. But while the whole foreign

policy was changed by the change of the internal administration, he entered upon such broad projects, that the boldest hope could hardly cherish an idea of their feasibility.

The projects of Alberani in respect to foreign policy and their connexion. While the reconquest of the Italian provinces was the immediate object, he not only entertained at the same time the project of securing the regency to his king, by the downfal of the regent, (by means of the, unsuccessful, conspiracy of Cellamare, Dec. 1718), but also to reinstate the pretender in England, for which purpose he contracted a new alliance with Sweden.*

36. These plans of conquest, directed immediately against Austria, became more alluring, by reason of the Turkish war, in which Austria was implicated at this time for the preservation of the peace of Carlowitz (see p. 208); and which, successful as was its issue, employed, nevertheless, the greater part of its army on the other side of Europe.

The war of the Turks began with Venice, and an easy conquest was made of the Morea, Cerigo, etc., alike badly administered and defended, July 1715. Corfu alone was maintained. Austria engaged in the war 1716. Against Eugene's name and tactics, Turkish valor was of no avail. A splendid victory was gained at Peterwardein Aug. 5th. Bannat was subdued and a part of Servia and Wallachia, Oct. Belgrade was besieged June 1717. The grand Vizier was

* St. Simon Mémoires de la regence Vol. I. L. 4. contains a caustic sketch of the Spanish court at that time ; and of Alberoni.

Histoire du cardinal Alberoni et de son ministère par Mr. J. R. à la Haye. 1720.

Schmauss geheime Geschichte des Spanischen Hofes. 1720. Translation of some writings respecting Alberoni.

defeated Aug. 16th and the fortifications were taken, as also Orsowa, Semendria, etc. At the opening of the new campaign in 1718, a truce was agreed upon and a peace for twenty years under the mediation of the naval powers according to the state of possession at the time, at Passarowitz, July 21st, conformably to which 1. Austria obtains Belgrade, the Temeswar Banat, a part of Servia and Wallachia, as far as the Aluta. 2. Venice retains the conquered places in Dalmatia; but leaves to the Port Morea, Cerigo, etc. The commercial treaty, concluded at the same time, opened to Austria all the Turkish states. Who would not have expected from such concessions the rapid prosperity of Austria, if a reasonable improvement of advantages had not been more difficult than conquest?

37. During this war attempts were made by Alberoni to execute his schemes; at first by a sudden invasion and the conquest of Sardinia, which was followed the next year by the conquest of Sicily; while more remote undertakings against the continent of Italy were in agitation. 1717. Aug. 1718. July.

38. But the connexions, already formed, made it easy for England to accomplish an alliance against Spain, for the preservation of the peace of Utrecht, known under the name of the quadruple alliance, though at first it was a combination of France and England only, in order to induce or compel the powers interested to accept the concerted preliminaries; to this it was assumed, that the republic would accede; and Austria actually joined.

A quadruple alliance was concluded between England, France and Austria, Aug. 2d, 1718 in the hope of the accession of the republic. Conditions: 1. Mutual renunciation of Spain and India by the emperor, and of Italy and the Netherlands by the king of Spain. 2. For Don Carlos, son of

Elizabeth, the reversion of Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza, as fiefs of the empire, to be occupied, for security, till the opening, with neutral troops. 3. Austria exchanges Sicily for Sardinia.—Three months were left to the kings of Spain and Sicily to declare their intentions.—A British fleet was sent to the Mediterranean for the protection of Sicily, and a naval battle was fought at Cape Passaro, Aug. 22d, 1718.

39. Resistance was made by Alberoni to those conditions, which Savoy accepted, though unwillingly, and received the crown of Sardinia instead of that of Sicily. When the intentions of the minister against the regent and England were disclosed, the consequence was a formal declaration of war by both against Spain, while the Dutch yet acted as mediators. But peace could not be, so long as the hated Alberoni remained in power; and Elizabeth was soon gained, when a prospect of the French throne was opened to her daughter of the age of three years. Alberoni fell, and the conditions of the quadruple alliance were immediately accepted by Spain. The fire of war was thus extinguished; but many of the contested points were not to be adjusted till the great congress at Cambrais.

Nov. 8th. 1718.

1719. Jan. 9th.

Dec. 5th.

1720. Jan. 26th.

40. While England thus obtained peace with an armed hand, it became more deeply than before entangled in the policy of the continent. It must needs have been, therefore, of high importance for Europe, that the minister, who was there placed at the helm and managed it for twenty one years under two kings, honestly desired the preservation of the peace. Robert Wal-

1721 to 1742.

pole, without the restless activity which is so often called greatness, was a statesman most worthy of respect. He introduced uprightness into politics, at a time, when they were disgraced by the profligate Dubois and the false Alberoni. But his maxim, to be on good terms with all, entangled him in a web of negotiations and relations; from which only an island state, like England, could have disengaged itself.*

41. About this time, a double interest was created by the regulations of Russia, which had a frequent and powerful influence on general policy. The anxiety of Charles VI. at leaving behind nothing but daughters, led him to frame, thus early, an order of succession, under the name of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which, if possible, was to be accepted and guaranteed by all the powers. It was the ground of negotiations and concessions, of which foreign cabinets knew how to make an excellent use.

The Pragmatic Sanction was planned in 1713, and had been accepted in the hereditary states since 1720. It was afterwards almost always a standing article in all foreign negotiations.

42. But commotions, almost still more violent, were occasioned by Charles the Sixth's project to give his Netherlands a share in Indian trade from

* Memoirs of Robert Walpole, by William Coxe. III Voll. 4to. 1798.

Memoirs of Horace Walpole. 1802. 4to.—Two of the most important collections of materials, from the best sources, for the history of the times.—Horace was his younger brother, and frequently employed in embassies, especially in Paris and at the Hague.

the port of Ostend. The establishment of his commercial company there was regarded by the maritime powers as an encroachment on their rights, contrary to the peace of Westphalia. They, who had formerly maintained the freedom of the ocean against Spain, now wished to exclude from it others, as they had been once excluded by the Spanish.

The Ostend company was chartered for trade to the East and West Indies 19th of December, 1722.—The remonstrances of the Dutch were founded on the conditions of the peace of Münster with Spain, that the trade to the Indies should remain within its limits at that time. Did this bind the present possessors of the Netherlands? And above all, the arguments of the English!

43. It was these, and many other important and unimportant points, which brought about the congress of Cambrais, under the mediation of France and England. Austria, Spain, Sardinia and Parma, all gave in their claims. But by wishing to accomplish every thing, nothing was accomplished. The many petty interests roused as many petty passions; and the congress, after long discussions, interrupted by other intermediate events, having separated without doing any thing, wanted but little of producing universal war.

After long delays, the congress finally opened, April 1724, after the previous guarantee of the mutual renunciations of Austria and Spain Sept. 27th, 1721, by England and France. Besides the above chief points, disputes were occasioned by the feudal relations of Parma and Piacenza to the German empire, the right of conferring the Order of the Golden Fleece, etc. What could be expected of a congregation of men, who did but start difficulties, without a single leading man?

44. During these negotiations, the change of a project of marriage caused an unexpected revolution in political relations; and by becoming the source of animosity between Spain and France, led to a reconciliation and alliance between Spain and Austria.

The Spanish Infanta, yet in her minority, was sent back from Paris, April 5th 1724, because the Duke of Bourbon, the new minister, wished to marry the young king at once. Louis XV. espoused Maria, the daughter of the Polish Ex-king Stanislaus Lescinsky, Aug. 16th 1725. Queen Elizabeth was exasperated; and the negotiations, already (Nov. 1724) commenced by the Baron and adventurer Riperda in Vienna, were speedily concluded. A peace and alliance were made between Austria and Spain, April 30th, 1725. Conditions: *a*. Ratification of the peace of Utrecht, and a mutual guarantee of all possessions as they then were. *b*. Acknowledgment of the mutual order of succession. *c*. Mutual succor in case of an attack, (as a secret article). In the commercial treaty, signed May 1st, Spain recognized the Ostend company.—The Congress at Cambrais was dissolved after the recall of the Spanish ambassador, June 1725.

45. The less this compromise was expected, though it could have little difficulty in itself, the greater was the commotion it created in the cabinets; the more so, since a part of the conditions were without reason made a secret. The ruling powers, England and France, felt not a little vexed, that such an agreement had been concluded, without their co-operation; and it was sometimes deemed to augur an attack, sometimes a union, by marriage, of the Spanish and Austrian monarchies. The natural measure of a counter alliance was therefore resorted to, which was concluded at

Herrnhausen between England, France and Prussia, and like that of Vienna, soon extended to the north of Europe, Denmark and Sweden being involved in it, as Russia was in that of Vienna.

The league of Herrnhausen was signed, Sept. 3d, 1725, from which Prussia, however, soon retired and joined the imperial party by the secret treaty at Wusterhausen, Oct. 12th, 1726. On the other hand, the league was increased by the accession of the United Netherlands, on account of the Ostend company, though with much circumspection, Aug. 9th, of Denmark and Sweden, in consideration of subsidies, March 25th, 1727, as also of Hesse Cassel and Wolfenbüttel. On the other hand, the emperor gained not only Russia, Aug. 6th, 1726, but also several German states, besides Prussia.

46. Thus the countries of Europe, they knew not why, not only stood all armed in opposition to each other, but the fitting out of British squadrons, and the attack of Spain on Gibraltar brought the war to an eruption, when the flame, as it began to blaze up, had been extinguished. Where there was no good reason for war, this was not, in itself considered, so difficult; but what is more difficult than to still the tumult of petty angry passions? But happily for Europe, a minister was placed at the head of the administration of France, who, already an aged man, was no less an upright friend of peace, than Robert Walpole. If the seventeen years' administration of the cardinal Fleury was not free from faults in the interior, it was, nevertheless, beneficial for Europe. Without him, the various compacts would hardly have been formed, which now restored the peace, and its longer duration appeared to be war-

1726 Jan. to 1743 Jan.

ranted by his amicable relation with Walpole, springing from similar principles, and sustained by Horace Walpole, as ambassador. Even the change of rulers in England, George II. succeeding his father, made no alteration, since Walpole retained his station. 1727. June 11th.

Preliminaries were signed at Paris between Austria and the allies of Herrnhausen, May 31st, 1727. The principal obstacle was removed by the suspension of the Ostend company for seven years. It was joined by Spain, June 13th, and peace with England was restored by the treaty at Pardo, March 6th, 1728. The other points of contest were to be adjusted at the congress at Soissons, June 1728. But the restless desire of territory of the queen Elizabeth, who obtained by the treaty at Seville Nov. 9th, 1729 with England and France, that, to secure the succession of her son in Tuscany and Parma, these countries should now be occupied by Spanish troops, not only dissolved the congress at Soissons, but even drove the offended Austria to arms. The guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction was the talisman, by which Charles VI. was always to be gained. Thence arose the treaty with England and the Republic at Vienna, March 16th, 1731, the emperor, in return for that guarantee, acquiescing in the occupation of the Italian countries and in the abolition of the Ostend company. To this treaty, Spain acceded, June 6th, and the empire July 14th.

47. In this way, quiet was preserved by a singular fortune, notwithstanding the destruction of the fundamental relations of the political system of Europe, and seemed to be even confirmed. France and Spain were reconciled; Austria, in harmony with Spain, saw its Pragmatic Sanction universally acknowledged and even guaranteed; England was in amity with all. The ancient moving principle of politics, the rivalship of powerful states, appear-

ed to grow weak; but the lust of aggrandizement, ever the malady of cabinets, did not expire; nothing was wanted but an opportunity, which should promise satisfaction. It occurred, when, after the death of Frederic Augustus, king of Poland, the choice of a successor produced a war in the north, (see below). Russia and Austria declaring themselves in favor of Saxony, France, by defending the pretensions of Stanislaus Lescinsky, deemed it an opportune period to aggrandize itself at the expense of the empire, and Spain and Sardinia at the expense of the emperor. A short war now made greater changes in the state of possessions, than the previous long ones; and not merely the republic, since she effected the neutrality of the Spanish Netherlands, even England itself, in spite of its guarantee and treaty, looked on quietly, while its ally, Austria, was deprived of its most important acquisitions.

1733. Feb. 1st.

France entered into an alliance with Spain Oct. 25th, and Sardinia Sept. 26th, 1733, principally brought about by the intriguing Chauvelin, who under Fleury had the management of foreign affairs till 1737. The French, under Berwick, made an attack on the empire. Kehl was reduced, and Lorrain invaded, war having been declared by the empire, March 13th, 1734; the combined French and Sardinian troops under Villars took Milan, and the Spaniards Naples 1733, whence they proceeded to Sicily, May 1734. The aged Eugene no longer kept victory chained.—All the Austrian possessions in Italy were taken.—Preliminaries of peace were quickly signed at Vienna after a direct negotiation between France and Austria, Oct. 3d, 1735, to which Sardinia accedes May 1st, 1736, and Spain Nov. 15th. Conditions: 1. Austria surrendered to Spain, as a secundogeni-

ture, (stipulating, however, that they should never be united with it,) Naples and the Sicilies, the island Elba, and the Stati degli Presidi, in favor of Don Carlos. 2. France obtains the reversion of Lorrain and Bar, which were given to Stanislaus Lescinsky, after his renunciation of the crown of Poland, (who immediately resigned it to France). 3. Francis Stephen, duke of Lorrain, obtained the reversion of Tuscany, into possession of which he came, July 9th, 1797. 4. The emperor obtained as an indemnification Parma and Piacenza. 5. Sardinia obtained some districts of Milan. 6. France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.—Not till Nov. 18th, 1738, were the preliminaries changed into a definitive peace.

48. Thus by this war, Alberoni's formerly unsuccessful plans on Italy, were for the most part carried into execution. But if Spain only drew from it the advantage of placing one of its princes on the now independent throne of the two Sicilies, France on the contrary as a power, enjoyed the much more substantial advantage—in as far as conquests can be called such,—of obtaining in Lorrain, a province, the loss of which must have been, both in political and geographical respects, very sensibly felt by the German empire. Though this war was both carried on, and moreover terminated, without the participation of the maritime powers, yet, after the restoration of peace, Europe returned to its former relations, which were not altered even by the participation of Austria in the Turkish wars. But these, however, prosecuted in common with Russia, belong rather to the north (see below.)

II. *A Cursory View of the Changes in the single leading States of the West of Europe*, 1700—1740.

1. The changes that took place in this period in the interior of the states of the west of Europe, were rarely of the kind to have any lasting influence on their character. They were mostly the developement of germs, that were previously formed; in some the change was of growth, but in others of gradual decay.

2. We have shown above (see p. 258), how far a new epoch began for Spain with the new dynasty. The great share, it took in the public contests of Europe, did not proceed from the restored energy of the nation, but was a fruit of the personal passions of the rulers. Even the successful efforts of its arms, gave no new impulse; what could it have gained by conquest?

3. Though a change was produced in the external relations of France by its attachment to England, so little essential alteration was made in the character of its policy, that the seed of future wars was disseminated during these amicable relations of the governments by the increasing commercial jealousy of the two nations. But in the interior, the accepting of the bull *Unigenitus* by Louis XIV. at the end of his government created a ferment, which did not remain a mere contest between Jesuits and Jansenists (see p. 209), but necessarily constituted an opposition to the government, which, soon finding defenders even in parliament, was the more dangerous for the state, the more it reminded of the suppression of the ancient national liberty.

The Bull *Unigenitus* was promulgated by Pope Clement XI. Sept. 8th, 1713; adopted in France, Feb. 14th, 1714. The schism among the clergy immediately followed. The great political importance of this dispute dates, however, from the following period.*

4. But the abortive attempt, that France made, to pay off the burden of its debts by means of the paper bank of Law, and the Mississippi company connected with it, were of no small consequence for its future fate and its whole influence in the European political system. The ruin of thousands of families might be repaired in time, but it was the arbitrary money operations of the government, that reduced its credit to irrevocable ruin. From this time no paper money could be issued in France under the old constitution; the French financial system was ever after in an unsettled state.

A paper bank was erected by Law, a Scot, May 1716, on very reasonable principles; but it was driven so far by the government, which purchased it, Jan. 1719, that it became a terror to the government itself. A depreciation was made in the value of the bank notes by the edict of the 21st of May, 1720; and the bank was utterly ruined.†

5. Hardly any other power enjoyed so high respect in the European system, as England, which

* C. M. Pfaffii Acta publica constitutionis Unigenitus. Tübing. 1725.

Anecdotes ou Mémoires sécrets sur la constitution Unigenitus. à Utrecht. 1732. 3 Voll.

† Histoire du systéme des Finances sous la minorité de Louis XV. 1719 et 1720. à la Haye. 1736. 6 Voll. 12mo. But the most lucid exposition of the complicate subject is given in :

J. Stewart Inquiry into the principles of Political Economy. Lond. 1767.

was rendered yet stronger, having become one kingdom by the union of Scotland. This re-
1707. spect was founded not merely on its power, but also on its policy, so beneficial for the continent. The path, which the rulers of the new house ought to pursue, was most clearly marked out for them; and where could they have pursued it more faithfully and more conscientiously?

6. But the pressure of the debts that had been increased, generated in England also projects, which were followed by no less a giddiness than in France. Here too, it was believed possible speedily to perform by art, what can be the result only of continued exertion, the liquidation of the public debt; but the projects of the South sea company foundered, like those of the Mississippi company in France. But as the English government allowed itself no despotic steps, its credit was preserved entire; and it found itself able, by a diminution of interest, to establish a sinking fund which only needed a better administration to effect its object.

The ancient sinking fund consisted in a free diminution of interest from 6 to 5 per cent. 1717, and again from 5 to 4 per cent. 1727.

7. The republic of the United Netherlands underwent, in this period, no important internal changes, since the death of William III. But when the title of Prince of Orange passed by right of inheritance to his cousin, William Friso;
1711. and after his death to his son William, governor of Friesland and Groningen, the Orange party continued to exist in the republic; and the

restoration of the dignity of hereditary stadtholder might be expected, should an opportunity offer. The further relations of this younger house of Orange were determined, beforehand, by its closer connexion with the British, through the marriage of the prince with Anne, daughter of George II. 1734.

8. The Austrian monarchy changed its policy and provinces, without suffering any internal revolution, other than that of a gradual decline. The emperor Charles VI., more occupied with the future than the present, had already obtained the guarantee of his pragmatic sanction from powers great and small—at least on paper. A favorable fate had given him a Eugene; but he was unable to prevent even the decay of the army; how much less, that of the finances and the whole internal organization.

9. The German empire, attached to Austria, partook of all the wars of this country, however foreign they were to itself. And how would neutrality have benefitted it? But four of its first princes, Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover and Hesse Cassel had acquired in this period, foreign regal crowns; and who could say what influence this would have on their German territories. This much appeared at all events certain; that the solidity of the federation of the empire, otherwise so weak, could not be increased by it. Would there not always be a disagreement between the interests of their crowns and their princely coronets? And if they themselves wished it to be so, were their enemies willing? In what European disputes,

must not at least some German states be involved? And how easily in that case the whole?

10. Politics in general,—altogether in the hands of a few ministers and their confidants—obtained, in this period, in all respects, the character of cabinet politics. Never had there been so much diplomacy in Europe, never were such ideas entertained of its efficiency. Its greater or less morality depended, of course, to a certain extent, on the morals of the ministers. So long as it was built on certain principles, so long as no one dared to violate, directly, the sanctity of legitimate possessions, it must have possessed at least the semblance of morality. Even the regent, and the abandoned Dubois did not appear so odious in their public as in their private life.

11. Political economy, based on no more enlarged theory, than the mere acquisition of ready money, conformed in its maxims to this principle; and the mercantile system bore with greater and greater truth, the name of a system. Foreign commerce remained the prime source of wealth; and happy he, whose accounts showed the balance in his favor. The sudden accumulation of paper money, occasioned by the attempts to pay off the public debts, ended in its depreciation; but if it reacted on the extension of internal trade, by increasing the medium of internal circulation, and on the whole condition of society by raising the price of things,—what financial operations, both good and bad, has it not made possible to the governments?

12. The progress of the art of war, which must have been considerable under such great generals as this age produced, can here be the subject of nothing but a general remark. It must have continued to become an art, in proportion as the system of standing armies was perfected, towards which a second step was taken by Prussia, after the example of France (see below).

III. *History of Colonial Affairs from* 1700—1740.

1. The colonial system of the states of Europe was neither much enlarged in extent, during this period, nor, with the exception of some cessions made by France to England, did they undergo very great changes of masters. But so much the greater was their internal increase. Colonial productions, especially those of the West Indies, met with a sale in Europe, that exceeded all expectation; the motives of cultivation increased in an equal proportion; and as all the immense commerce of the world was carried on with them, more than one state regarded them as the foundation of their commerce and even of their political greatness.

2. The importance of Colonies being thus augmented, their influence on politics was, consequently, greater. The mother states did not, indeed, on the whole, relinquish their ancient claims to the exclusive trade of their colonies; but they were willing to connive at the contraband trade, which their colonies prosecuted with those of oth-

er powers, and necessity compelled them, to allow greater liberties with respect to exportation.

3. If the mutual hatred was thus kept alive, this was no less promoted by the geographical confusion of the colonies, especially in the narrow West Indies. Destiny in one of its strange moods decreed, that in this very spot, the states of Europe should lay out their gardens, in which they labored to raise products, that grow spontaneously far and wide on the face of the earth. Thus as their importance increased, envy and jealousy became more intense; and at the end of this period, a war broke out for the first time, about colonial interests.

4. Among the single states, England began, in this period, to take an elevated station in colonial trade. The concessions of the peace of Utrecht had given it, in several respects, the preponderance. The *assiento* treaty with Spain (see p. 254), which authorized it for thirty years to supply Spanish America with slaves, and to attend the great fair of Porto Bello, was not, in itself, very advantageous; but it opened the way to such a smuggling trade, that it brought almost the whole commerce of Spanish America into the hands of the English.

The South Sea company was incorporated Aug. 1st, 1711, with the monopoly of the trade, south of the Oronoko, along the eastern and the whole of the western seaboard of America.—It prospered exceedingly after the peace of Utrecht.—The nature of their trade to Spanish America was such, as to enrich the agents rather than the company.

5. The possessions of the British in the West Indies made but small advances in this period, not-

withstanding the newly introduced cultivation of coffee, which ever remained behind that of the sugar cane. Their rise was obstructed by the smuggling trade of the North American colonies with the French islands, and the great prosperity of these latter. But this very thing became to them a cause of prosperity, for parliament was obliged to grant them privileges, by which the oppressive commercial restraints were in some measure alleviated. 1732.

A tax was imposed in North America on the importation of all foreign sugar, 1733.—The immediate exportation of sugar was allowed, provided it were in British vessels, from the British colonies to the countries of Europe, south of Cape Finisterre, 1739.

6. The British colonies on the coasts of North America were in a far more thriving condition, notwithstanding the exclusive trade, which the mother country still attempted, as far as possible, to reserve for itself. But the extent of coast, the situation and contiguity of the French and especially the Spanish possessions, would have made it impossible to prevent the prosecution of the lucrative slave traffic, even if the disproportions, that must inevitably arise between the mutual productions and wants of the mother country and the colonies, had not rendered many modifications necessary.

7. Though the increase of those provinces was general, it was, nevertheless, the southern, that had particular reason to rejoice. The culture of rice first introduced into the Carolinas from Madagascar, contributed essentially to this effect, 1702.

and the new emigrations, increased by the religious persecutions in the south of Germany, gave existence, in Georgia, to the youngest of the thirteen old provinces.

Georgia was separated from South Carolina, 1732, having been granted to a private association, as a distinct province, not without the resistance of the Spaniards, who pretended that it formed a part of Florida. Emigrations were numerous, but it prospered slowly, since the trade in peltry was at first preferred to agriculture; till the proprietors resigned their privileges to the government in 1752.

8. Nova Scotia, conceded to the British in the peace of Utrecht, was then little more than a wilderness; so also was the island of Newfoundland. But of so much the greater importance was the participation, secured by the possession of this country, in the cod fishery, both for the commerce and the navigation of the British. Owing to the rights, reserved by the French, this too became a new source of jealousy and altercation.

9. The East India trade of the British suffered a material alteration. This was, indeed, by no means the period of great possessions in India, which were almost solely limited to Bombay, Madras, Fort William in Bengal and Bencoolen on Sumatra. But the perpetual wrangling between the old and the new East India companies (see p. 228), eventually led to a union of the two, from which proceeded the still existing company of merchants, trading to India. From this time, the East India trade continued to increase; especially as the cotton stuffs of the Indies came into universal use; which were even prohibited on the re-

monstrances of the native manufacturers.—Meanwhile, the resistance to the monopoly of the company did not cease, and became particularly clamorous about the time of the renewal of their charter. It was, nevertheless, confirmed anew in 1733 for thirty seven years; and the project of a free company without a common fund was abandoned,—who can say, whether fortunately or unfortunately for England? 1721.

The ancient disputes of the two companies were nourished by the spirit of political party, since the new one found its defenders in the whigs, the old one in the tories, and threatened to become dangerous to the public quiet.—The two companies were united, July 22d, 1702, under the title: The united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies. Conformably to a preliminary compromise, the fund of the two was made one common fund, amounting to 2,000,000 pounds sterling, with a division of the gains. A complete union under one directory was not effected till seven years after.*

10. Notwithstanding this continued monopoly, the commercial policy of the British government was altered, especially under the house of Hanover, essentially in favor of the colonies. All other monopolies by degrees disappeared; and with them, excepting a few prohibitions, almost all direct interference of the government in private activity and national economy. Without renouncing the principles of the mercantile system, or formally substituting any other in its stead, it was soon felt, that the blessing of a free constitution flowed from

* The acts of the union may be found in Russell's Collection (see p. 228). Append. p. XXIII. The most copious history in Bruce's Annals, etc. T. III. (see p. 121).

the free application of private energy; and that the chief wisdom of the government consisted far more in not oppressing any branch of industry than in attempting to encourage new branches. The British tariff conformed to this maxim. All this, it would seem, necessarily proceeded from the progressive funding system. Certain is it, that the British commercial policy was relatively the most reasonable, though not exactly conformable to the rules of theorists. How adequate this was, to promote the welfare of the nation by means of the ever increasing happiness, was manifested in a striking manner by the extraordinary prosperity of the country towns. Yet let the eternal truth never be forgotten, that in our world a luxuriant growth is never free from noxious weeds.

11. France, once placed by Colbert in the number of colonial states, never forsook it, and maintained her station in this period not without success. There was yet so much room in the two Indies, that she had to infringe on the rights of no other powers, and whenever single collisions arose, the amicable relation with England since the death of Louis XIV. concurred to make them less momentous.

12. The French West India possessions, especially on Martinique, Guadeloupe and a part of Domingo, prospered best of all. The coffee tree, introduced into Martinique from Surinam, 1728. disclosed a new source of commerce; but the cultivation of the sugar cane, on the whole, maintained the ascendency. The prime causes, however, of the prosperity, and the superiority, that

the French islands acquired over the British, consisted partly in the far greater commercial freedom, extended to them, partly in the slave traffic with Spanish America, and lastly in the habits of the planters, who devoted their whole time to their plantations, that they might the earlier return, enriched, to their native land.

Great commercial liberty was given to the French islands by the regulation of 1717. The importation of French products was made free of duty, and the duties were very much diminished on colonial produce, re-exported from French harbors; and permission was finally given to export directly from the islands of foreign ports.—Martinique was thereby far the most powerful of those possessions.—Attempts were made to form settlements on the neutral islands so called (now belonging to the Caribbees), of St. Vincent, Dominica, Tabago and St. Lucia; a dispute respecting them arose with England 1722, which terminated by the treaty of the 19th of Jan. 1723, for mutual evacuation.

13. In North America, the French territory was brought within narrower limits by the loss of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland; but as long as the French possessed Canada and Louisiana, which was then becoming more important, they could not complain about want of territory. What would have come to pass, had not the want of some line of separation from the English possessions excited anxiety for the future? But the attempts, then in their commencement, to establish a communication between both countries by a chain of forts in the rear of the British colonies, kindled a jealousy, which was afterwards to break out into a great war.

14. The East India trade of France underwent in this period various changes. The French re-

mained, indeed, true to the maxim always to commit it to a chartered company; but this chartered company was ever a mere instrument in the hands of the ministers, apparently used only to try whether money could be made by it. It might have single moments of prosperity; for these it was indebted to some few great men, among its directors in India; but how could it reckon on any stable foundation, while it was subservient to the changing plans and the despotic will of the ministers?

The old East India company, which had long been pining, was renovated, May 1719, by an amalgamation with the Mississippi (West India), African and China company, founded 1717, under the name of the India or Mississippi company; which, united with the bank, undertook, in consideration of the privileges conferred on it, the payment of the debt of the crown, (1600 millions); till the bank fell to pieces in 1721 (see p. 275).—The company was aided by great privileges, especially the monopoly of tobacco, 1723. Such pains were taken to form an artificial East India trade at the cost of the nation!—But the peaceful relations of France to the maritime powers promoted the maintenance of the company, especially as under the ministry of Fleury, the minister Orry gave them a great share of his attention since 1737.

15. While the dominion of France was spread yet farther on the continent of India, where Pondichery was the chief place, permanent possessions were gained by the occupation of two small islands, which were alike important for commerce by their productions, and, by their situation and character, as military stations in war.

The two islands, deserted by the Dutch, were occupied; Isle de France about 1690, and Isle Bourbon, 1720. Towards the end of this period they began to prosper, under

the administration of Labourdonnais since 1736, particularly by the cultivation of coffee.*

16. The colonial affairs of the Dutch underwent in this period no great ostensible alterations. Things in the colonies took the same course as they did at home, only not always for the better. In East India, the Dutch were, without contradiction, the first European commercial nation; no one attempted to disturb them on the islands they had settled; and yet from this time dates the period of the gradual decline of their company. In the West Indies, the colony of Surinam began to rise, by means of the coffee tree, first introduced there from Java, in which island also it was now first becoming important. 1718.

To give a documentary history of the decline of the Dutch East India company,—as far as the question respects its causes—would be impossible even from the archives of the company itself. It sank under age, as every human institution must do at last, and above all, a strictly monopolizing commercial association, in which the germ of dissolution must be finally, though slowly, developed. If from the extracts now made public, from the books of the company (Saalfeld, II. p. 138), from 1613 to 1696 in the receipt of 340 millions of guilders we find a surplus of 40 millions over the expenditures, from 1697 a gradually increasing deficit commenced, which did not again cease. The solution lies partly in the character of its first officers. Did not perhaps, the frequent change of governors in this period,—no less than 11 in not 40 years (1704—1741)—contribute its part to the gradual decline?†

* Ch. Grant, Visc. de Vaux History of the Isle of St. Mauritius. London. 1801. 4to. A rich collection of materials for the history of the two isles.—The father of the author was governor.

† Vies des gouverneurs généraux, avec l' abrégé de l'

17. It might have been expected that the great changes and convulsions, experienced by the Spanish monarchy, would have had a corresponding influence on its colonies. But the storms of the mother country did not reach them. The Spanish war of succession, was, by the genius of the generals, prosecuted merely on land; and the colonies were as yet not ripe for a revolution; for otherwise would not the *assiento* treaty, which opened the access to strangers, have precipitated it? The new dynasty did in this period for the colonies still less, than it did for Spain itself. A quiet progress must, nevertheless, have been made by them, as is shown by the sketch of their condition at the end of this period.

Instead of greater liberty, the trade with America was yet more restricted, partly by the high tariff of 1720, (which promoted, so much the more, the smuggling trade), partly by the incorporation of the Caraccas (or Guipuscoa) company, 1728, which put itself in sole possession of the commerce with that province. The transfer of the trade in Spain from Seville to Cadiz, to facilitate navigation, was not an equivalent for those disadvantages.*

18. About the end of this period, the colonies were for the first time, the direct cause of war between two of the leading powers of Europe. The privileges gained by England by the *assiento*-treaty, of which the great smuggling trade with the Spanish colonies was the result, led to counteracting

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histoire des Etablissements Hollandois aux Indes orientales par J. P. J. Dubois. á la Haye. 1763. 4to. Very meagre in its information respecting the history of the administration.

* Don Ulloa Voyage historique dans l' Amerique méridionale. 1757. 2 Voll. 4to. The leading work. The author was employed in the French measurement of a degree

regulations; and the disputes with the Garda-Costas produced a war, before the limit of the treaty of thirty years had elapsed, notwithstanding all the exertions, which Walpole made to avoid it. 1739.

The real points of contest were: the pretensions of the Spanish to visit British vessels in open sea, as consequent on their old claims to the exclusive dominion of the Indian seas. A compact was made at Madrid, Jan. 15th, 1739, which only protracted the decision. The war, demanded by the popular voice in England, broke out again 1739.—Porto Bello was conquered, and the great fair afterwards ceased to be held there. But an unsuccessful attack was made on Carthagena in South America.—The war was then united with the Austrian war of succession (see below).

19. For Portugal, Brazil acquired an increased importance in this period, by the rich mines of gold, from which, however, England derived the most advantage, and by the discovery of treasures of diamonds, which required some peculiar regulations, if these commodities were to sustain their price. But how dearly were these treasures purchased, if agriculture was retarded by them? The contrary, however, seems to be proved by the increasing exportation of produce, of sugar, cotton, logwood, etc. 1728.

The lust of gold drove the Paulists, reduced during this period, to subordination, by means partly severe, partly conciliatory, farther into the interior; and the provinces Matto Grosso and Goyas rewarded them by a rich profit. The cities in the interior prospered rapidly: Villa Ricca, Villa Boa, Villa do Principe, etc. especially since the peace of Utrecht. Above all, was the prosperity of Rio Janeiro (notwithstanding it was surprised and burned by Dugué Trouin, 1711), which was the emporium of gold, and became the capital. The crown's fifth amounted annually to 25 million

crusados. Agriculture and commerce flourished; those, who had become opulent, investing their capital in them.

20. Denmark also maintained its station among the colonial states, having obtained Tranquebar in East India, the value of which was increased by the evangelical missions, established there; and it was also able to acquire possessions in the West Indies. In Sweden too an East India company was chartered, without, however, any permanent fund, or possessions there, to take an immediate part in the trade with China.

1705.

1731.

The Danes took possession of the small island, St. Jean, 1719, and purchased the island St. Croix from France, June 15th, 1733. The island of St. Thomas had been occupied by the Danes, since 1671.

SECOND PERIOD.

From 1700 *to* 1740.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE.*

1. No one of the former periods was of such decisive importance for the north of Europe, as the present. It was not a mere renovation of the

* Mémoires etc. de Lamberty, see p. 242.
Schmauss Staatswissenschaft, etc. see p. 162.
The biographies of Peter the Great and Charles XII. The best of them are:

mutual relations of the states, it was a new world which was then formed. Previous occasions had already evinced that great vigor had been aroused; but rulers were wanting, who knew how to manage it with effect.

2. All the members of the system of the north had changed their rulers about the end of the former period; and the revolutions, that the states experienced, had their origin for the most part, in the peculiarities of character of the new monarchs. But though all the states of the north were overtaken by the great storm, it was, in reality, Russia and Sweden, whose contest gave the decision. In Peter the Great and Charles XII., two princes appeared as adversaries, both of equal energies and equally inflexible purpose; differing, however, in this, that in the one, this purpose was linked with reason, in the other with passion. And it was this difference which at last necessarily decided the fate of their realms. Though both were capable of colossal projects, Peter never went beyond the power of his empire.

1. Russia. Under the dominion of Peter I. since 1689, (see p. 234), this was the greatest of the kingdoms in extent, reaching from Archangel to Azoph (see p. 238), but as yet

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Leben Peter's des Grossen von G. A. von Halem. 1804. 8vo. 3 Bde. With an index and criticism of the other auxiliary sources.

Nordberg Leben von Carl XII. 3 Bde. fol. 1745. together with:

Anmerkungen oder Anecdoten, vertrauten Freunden mitgetheilt. 1758. 8vo.

Histoire de Charles XII. par Mr. de Voltaire. 1754. 4to.

G. Adlerfeld Histoire militaire de Charles XII. 1740. 4 Voll. 12mo.

excluded from the Baltic. It was inhabited, indeed, by a barbarous people, but this barbarous nation constituted one grand nation. A reformation was already begun in the interior, both in point of the constitution, which was that of the most complete autocracy, and of the manners; for the nation was to be assimilated to the rest of Europe. But the higher classes only, were so in part, for the ruler gave the example; language and religion were still powerful supports of nationality. The military department was organized altogether anew according to the European mode, after the abolition of the Strelzi; a new army was formed in 1699. Single corps had been, previously, formed.

2. Sweden. Charles XII. came to the throne, when a youth of but fifteen years, in 1697. He inherited a well ordered state; then the first in the north, with a full treasury and an excellent navy and army. But the political greatness of Sweden was inseparably attached to the possession of the provinces, which almost surrounded the Baltic; and a nation of not quite three millions can hardly be destined to rule the world for a length of time, though it may perhaps conquer it.

3. Poland had been since 1696, under the sway of Augustus II. elector of Saxony. But the ancient anarchy did not end with the election of a new king; new projects roused new distrust; and the new manners introduced in the luxurious court, by enervating the old Sarmatian vigor, sapped the last pillar of the state. The nation carefuly guarded against any reform, such as obtained in Russia; and the new king, though not without ambition, was by no means qualified for a reformer. The retaining of his Saxon troops brought upon him the dislike of the nation, and religious controversy soon gave new nourishment to the anarchy.

4. Prussia from 1688 to 1713, stood under the dominion of Frederic I. elector of Brandenburg, and duke, since 1701 king, of Prussia. The elevation of Prussia to a kingdom, first recognized by the emperor and gradually by

the other powers of Europe, was no immediate accession of strength, but a stimulant to the reigning house to assert its dignity, by pomp or economy or aggrandizement. What measures should be resorted to, depended on the spirit of the regent; but the endeavor to place itself on an equal rank with the other leading powers of Europe, was the fundamental maxim of this state. The rise in the political system of a state, to which aggrandizement is a necessity, must be dangerous for it. What would have been the result, had there not been long united with this love of aggrandizement, a certain moderation, to which it was bound in the west by its character as a state of the empire, and in the east by the superiority of its neighbors?

5. Denmark. At the very commencement of this period, it obtained in Frederic IV. 1700—1730, a ruler, who with the man ripened into the king. Though immediately overtaken by the storm, at the end it underwent the least change, either in the constitution, or in the character and spirit of the government. The fall of Sweden and the rise of Russia were for the benefit of Denmark; for Russia, more remote, was less oppressive than the nearer Sweden. But the family dissension with the house of Gottorp became more menacing than ever, by the marriage of the young duke Frederic IV. with the sister of Charles XII., Hedwig Sophia (see p. 235); and the personal friendship of the two young princes, more than the relationship, strengthened the connexion between Sweden and Holstein Gottorp.

3. These were the internal relations of the northern states, when with the opening of the century, the fearful twenty years' contest began, which was to give a new form to the north. It could not but be a fearful contest; for men like Peter and Charles do not easily bend; and moreover a widely extended contest. Whether the superi-

ority of Russia or Sweden was or became its object, the elements of war were so generally scattered, that the flame could not but spread in every direction.

Causes of the northern war. They consisted 1. in the decided purpose of Peter to extend Russia to the Baltic; an object, which was only to be attained at the expense of Sweden. 2. In the attempt of king Augustus the Second, encouraged by Patkul, to subject Livonia to Poland. 3. In the quarrel of Denmark with Frederic IV. of Holstein Gottorp; and the exasperation and fear at his connexion with Sweden.

1699. Nov. 21st. 4. A secret league was made between Denmark and the king of Poland, (Augustus II. tried in vain to impel the distrustful nation to participation), against Sweden; this league was soon joined by Peter, while he acted the friend of Sweden, till the truce with the Turks was signed (see p. 238). 1700. In the same year, all three disclosed their plans, Denmark immediately against Holstein Gottorp, the other two against Livonia. Charles XII. was attacked entirely without his own fault; how must the consciousness of the justice of his cause, soon crowned by his almost incredible success, have animated and steeled the heart of the northern hero?

The Danes invaded Sleswick, and besieged Tonningen, April 1700. Brunswick, England, Holland, etc. joined as guarantees of the peace of Altona (see p. 234), in favor of Holstein Gottorp.—Charles XII. disembarked in Zealand (July), and extorted the peace at Travendal, Aug. 18th. It was stipulated: 1. That the peace of Altona should be ratified. 2. That Denmark should promise to undertake nothing hostile against Sweden.

5. Thus freed from one enemy, Charles hastened to Livonia, to confront the king of Poland and the Czar. But if the landing on Zealand had been sufficient to cripple Denmark, the strength of the north was first roused by that at Pernau. Even a battle like that of Narva, could not disarm Russia; and Charles himself caused the Poles to support their king.

Augustus II. invaded Livonia with his Saxon army, and invested Riga, without effecting any thing (Sept.), while the Czar as the ally of Augustus declared war on Sweden (Sept. 1), and besieged Narva.—Charles XII. landed and obtained a victory at Narva, Nov. 30, not a little facilitated by the disagreement of the Russian captains, under the forced command of the foreigner, the Duc de Croix.—Did Peter wish to be beaten?

6. The liberation of Livonia left Charles XII. the choice, against which of his enemies he would now turn his forces. Whether against the Czar or the king of Poland; a choice, on which the fate of Sweden probably depended. But Charles did not consider which was the most dangerous of his foes; hatred, not prudence, decided; he left the Czar, who needed nothing but time, in order to overthrow Augustus II., who had already sued for peace.

A meeting took place and a closer league was formed, between the Czar and Augustus II. at Birsen, Feb. 1701.—Charles crossed the Duna, and gained a victory over the Saxons at Riga, July 18th, leaving behind only two weak corps to resist the Russians.—Possession was taken of Courland.

7. The resolution, now immutably adopted by Charles, emboldened by the spirit of faction in Po-

land, to dethrone Augustus II. and give the Poles another king, plunged him in a war with the greater part of this nation, which accelerated its downfal no less than the subversion of Swedish greatness. Besides all other immeasurable misery, it kindled in Poland the flame of religious contest, which was never extinguished; and robbed Charles of five precious years, for which nothing could afterwards compensate.

A union took place between the party of the Sapiehas and Charles XII.—Poland engaged in the war, and a victory was achieved by Charles at Clissow, July 19th, 1702, and at Pultusk, May 1st, 1703. A new confederation against Charles was concluded at Sendomir on the 22d of August, 1703, and a counter league at Warsaw under the prince Primas on the 24th of Jan. 1704. Stanislaus Lescinsky, Voivode of Posen, was elected at Charles' suggestion, July 12th, with whom, as king of Poland, Charles concluded a treaty and alliance.—The war proceded in Poland and Lithuania, 1705, but the Saxons were defeated at Fraustadt, Feb. 13th, 1706; Charles penetrated into Saxony, and extorted a peace at Altranstadt, Sept 24th. Conditions: 1. Augustus renounced the dignity of king of Poland, as also the compact with the Czar. 2. He acknowledged Stanislaus Lescinsky, as king of Poland. 3. Conceded to the Swedish army, winter quarters, sustenance and pay in Saxony.

8. But during these wars, Peter had found time, to establish his new dominion on the Baltic. The once lost Ingria and Karelia (see p. 170) were recovered, and in the hardly conquered country, his Petersburg already arose. Well could Charles, five years before, have had no suspicion of what was here to take place; but that the advancing creation itself, did not open his eyes, shows that Peter deserved to perfect it.

The corps left in Ingria and Livonia by Charles XII. were conquered 1701 and 1702. Notteburg (Schlüsselberg), was conquered Oct. 11th, and Ryenschanz, May 1st, 1703. St. Petersburg was founded immediately after May 27th.—A strong hold was gained in Livonia, and Narva conquered, Aug. 20th, 1704.

9. Charles resolved to attack his yet remaining powerful enemy, in the midst of his own empire. But if Russia had been as easy to subdue as Poland, Peter was certainly not so easy to vanquish as Augustus. To him, no measure was too dear, provided it promoted his principal object; and the devastation of his own country was a formidable weapon against the Swedish conqueror. It obstructed his direct route to the capital; and when, deluded by the prospects, that the Hetman Mazeppa held out to him, he turned his course to the Ukraine, the issue could scarcely seem dubious. If Charles was to conquer, he must have done it, by the direct and shortest path.

The king left Saxony, Sept. 1707. He marched through the desolated Poland, while Lewenhaupt received orders to join him.—He crossed the Dnieper, Aug. 11th, 1708, and pressed forward to Ukraine. Lewenhaupt was defeated at Liesna, Oct. 8th; and the king soon saw most of the promises of Mazeppa frustrated. Pultawa was invested May 1709, and Peter hastened to relieve it.

10. The battle of Pultawa decided the fate of the north. Much greater battles have been fought, but no one more teeming with consequences. Peter's new creation was at once confirmed; and Sweden's dominion at once overthrown. Thus fell a structure, which was too high for its foundations; and Sweden was to give to as- 1709. July 8th.

tonished Europe the first grand example, how uncertain is artificial greatness.

11. What was this issue but the natural issue? Was this fall of Sweden in itself any thing more than a return to its natural condition? The continuance of the kingdom, was not concerned, but its excess of power; and had a voluntary restriction, to what it must after all be restricted, been possible—in how much better a condition would Sweden have emerged from the contest? But how could such a resignation, which, however strongly reason might have advised it, was scarcely possible for a common man, have entered the breast of Charles XII.?

12. The immediate consequence of the defeat at Pultawa was the dissolution of all the relations, forcibly established by Charles XII. Denmark no longer deemed itself bound by the peace of Travendal, nor Saxony by that of Altranstadt; and while Augustus again ascended the Polish throne, deserted by Stanislaus, his friendship with Peter was re-established by the convention at Thorn. But Peter, as was reasonable, retained Livonia, which in the meanwhile had been conquered by him.

Saxony and Denmark renewed their connexion with Russia Aug. 1709, but the invitation, proffered to Prussia, was refused.—King Augustus returned to Warsaw, and was acknowledged by the nation.—Denmark declared war anew, and invaded Schonen. (November).

13. But while the Swedish-German provinces presented such attractions to the conquerors, after the war was renewed, and the Swedish troops had

withdrawn from Poland to Pommerania, it appeared, that the northern war must extend to Germany, and perhaps give new aliment to the Spanish war of succession. The powers, implicated in this, effected by the treaty of the Hague, that these countries should be acknowledged neutral; but soon in vain, for Charles XII. would consent to no neutrality.

The treaty of the Hague was concluded, March 31st, 1710, mediated by the maritime powers and the emperor, between the Senate of Sweden, the allies and the German empire; under the conditions: *a.* of the neutrality of the Swedish-German provinces; and also, *b.* of Sleswick and Jutland, under *c.* the guarantee of the maritime powers, Prussia, Hanover, etc.—Charles XII. remonstrated Nov. 30.

14. Deprived of his own strength, Charles sought to recover his fortune by foreign aid, and built his hopes on the assistance of the Turks, who had received the defeated hero with that respect, which semi-barbarians are wont to pay to personal greatness. Who had greater reasons, than they, not to allow him to fall? The influence of Charles in the Divan was at last victorious, and war was declared against Russia.

Charles was received in Bender and resided there from Sept. 1709 to Feb. 10th, 1713.—The thirty years' truce was broken (see p. 238), and war declared Dec. 1710.

15. Thus the hopes of the Swedish hero revived; though there is but little probability, that even the successful issue of the war would have raised Sweden to its former elevation. But these hopes were to be most bitterly disappointed. In the very moment, when Peter, shut up with his whole army in Moldavia, was on the point of surrender-

ing himself a prisoner, he was saved by the wisdom of a woman and the corruptibility of the Grand Vizier. The peace of the Pruth inflicted a deeper wound on the king, than had been inflicted even by the battle of Pultawa.

Peter concluded a treaty with Demetrius Cantimir, the prince of Moldavia, April 13th, 1711, under the promise, that the dignity of prince should be hereditary in his house, as the protegé of Russia, in consideration of the aid, to be afforded.—Peter passed the Niester, and joined the prince at Jassy.—Provisions were soon wanting, and he was surrounded on the Pruth.—Negotiations were entered upon, according to Catharine's advice; and the peace was concluded, July 24th, 1711, under the conditions: 1. That Azoph with its territory should be restored to the Port. 2. That the new fortifications on the Samara, especially at Taganrok, should be demolished. 3. That a free return should be given to the Swedish monarch to his kingdom.—Charles, who had hastened from Bender, arrived in time to see the Russian army march off unmolested.—He did not, however, give up the hope of annihilating the peace; but no sooner was it broken, Dec. 17th, 1711, than it was established anew under the mediation of England and Poland, April 16th, 1712; Peter promising, besides the above stipulations, to evacuate Poland.—The king was violently removed from Bender to Demotica, Feb. 10th, 1713. The former peace was ratified, July 3d, which was followed by the compromise of king Augustus with the Port, April 2, 1714.*

16. While the Swedish monarch had, to all purposes, disappeared from Europe, his rejection of the treaty of the Hague had important consequences for the north. The Swedish provinces in Ger-

* W. Theyls Mémoires pour servir à l' histoire de Charles XII. pendant son séjour dans l' empire Ottoman. à Leyde. 1722. 8vo. The author was a Dragoman of the Port.

many now attracted the allies; and the change of rulers, which took place at the same time in Prussia, and raised William I. to the throne, led to a participation in the war. The kings of Denmark and Sweden invaded Pommerania; and the former not only made himself master of Bremen and Verden, but soon found a pretence for occupying Holstein-Gottorp. And though the sequestration of Stettin by Prussia was only designed for the protection of a neutral, it contained the latent cause of a war. 1713.

The Danes and Saxons invaded Pommerania 1711. Steenbock crossed over, Sept. and obtained a victory over the Danes at Gadebush, Dec. 14th.—But soon after the burning of Altona, Jan. 8th, 1713, he was shut up in Tonningen, and forced by Russian troops to surrender, May 16th. —A treaty respecting the occupation of Stettin was made June 22d, between the governments of Holstein-Gottorp and Prussia, and forcible possession taken, Sept. 29th. Prussia concluded a contract with Poland and Russia, respecting the sequestration, Oct. 6th.*

17. Of no less moment, was the use Denmark made of its conquests, selling to Hanover, during the war, on condition it should participate in it, the conquered Bremen and Verden. The resentment of Charles XII., thus excited against George I., involved not only Hanover, but England also, in the northern war; and the knot became more entangled, when, impelled by the measures adopted in Sweden itself, Charles returned unexpectedly to Stralsund, more like an adventurer than a king,

* Mémoires concernant les campagnes de Mr. le Comte de Steenbok. de 1712 et 1713. avec sa justification par Mr. N**. 1745. 8vo.

yet indulging the hope of severing this knot with the sword.

The duchies of Bremen and Verden, equally important for England and Hanover, were purchased June 26th, 1715. —The participation of England, by despatching a squadron to the Baltic, was produced by the strict edicts of Charles against the navigation of neutrals.—Attempts were made in Sweden to transfer the regency to Ulrica Eleonora, the sister of the king, Dec. 1713, and a diet was convoked.—Charles returned to Stralsund, Nov. 22d, 1714.

18. Of all the foreign provinces of the Swedish monarchy, but few remnants were left beside Stralsund; yet even then, Charles was not only resolved to continue the war, but soon saw the number of his enemies increased by Prussia and Hanover, and the Swedish main country, exposed to the Czar, the new lord of the Baltic. The remainder of the Swedish possessions in Germany were finally lost with Stralsund, and Charles brought back to Sweden nothing but himself.

An alliance was formed between Prussia, Saxony, Denmark and Hanover, Feb. 1715, and shortly after in Oct. between Prussia, Hanover and Russia. To what but to war could the equivocal conduct of Prussia lead towards a prince like Charles?—Wismar was besieged in common, and more especially Stralsund, which surrendered immediately after Charles' departure, Dec. 12th.

19. While Charles thus seemed to have little else but his hopes left, he found in the baron of Goertz, the minister of Holstein-Gottorp, the friend and counsellor that he needed. Rarely have two men more unlike each other, come together, and still more rarely two, who had greater need of each other. Charles had been finally forced to understand—but perhaps too late—that every thing

is not to be effected with the sword. Goertz taught him the efficiency of policy and the financial art, and found a docile scholar, because he at the same time yielded to the passions of the king. Entrusted with the management of domestic affairs, notwithstanding the hatred of the Swedish nobles, he gained credit for Sweden, and thence the means of prosecuting the war. But the war was no longer to be carried on without an object. While amity was restored with the more powerful, ceding to Peter his conquests, the weaker were to pay for the loss. And the project, in all respects adapted to the relations of the times, appeared almost certain of success, since it accorded, completely, with Peter's purpose, who could derive no benefit from a longer war with Sweden; and a man like Goertz, whose connexions extended through all Europe, guided the negotiations.

The other allies, especially England and Denmark, began to entertain a great distrust towards the Czar, after the expedition, purposely frustrated, against Schonen 1716. Goertz joined with Alberoni and the Pretender, against George I.—The Czar made a useless attempt on his journey 1717, to gain France against England; although a treaty was concluded Aug. 4th, unattended by consequences, yet remarkable as the first participation of Russia in the affairs of the west. Secret negotiations were carried on at Aaland, between Sweden and Russia, May 1718, by Goertz and Gyllenborg on the side of Sweden, and Osterman and Bruce on the part of Russia—almost to a conclusion. Norway and Hanover were, as was afterwards discovered, to indemnify Sweden, and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp and Stanislaus in Poland to be reinstated.*

* Rettung der Ehre und Unschuld des Freiherrn von Goertz. 1776. 8vo.

1718. Dec. 11th. N. S. 1719. Feb. 28th. 20. But fate had determined otherwise! Charles XII. fell in the trenches before Friedrichshall; and the enraged aristocrats forthwith dragged his friend and adviser to the scaffold. A radical change in Swedish policy was the consequence. A rupture took place with Russia; but urged by the feeling of their inability to help themselves, the Swedes resorted to an alliance with England. A series of treaties 1720. Feb. 1st. of peace with Hanover, Prussia, Denmark and Poland, was now purchased dearly, through England's mediation; when this was accomplished, nothing was wanting but a peace with the most dangerous enemy.

After preliminaries and previous truces, Sweden concluded the following formal treaties of peace:

1. With Hanover, Nov. 9th, 1719. *a.* Hanover retained Bremen and Verden, *b.* and paid to Sweden a million of rix dollars.

2. With Prussia, Feb. 1st, 1720. *a.* Prussia retained Stettin, besides Pommerania, as far as the Peene; and the islands Wollin and Usedom. *b.* It paid to Sweden two millions of dollars.

3. With Denmark, July 14th, 1720. *a.* Denmark restored all its conquests to Sweden. *b.* Sweden renounced its freedom from duties in the Sound, and paid 600,000 dollars. *c.* France and England guaranteed to Denmark the possession of the duchy Sleswick, and Sweden promised to lend no active aid to the (deserted) duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

4. With Poland, the conditions were those of the truce, signed Nov. 7th, 1719.

21. But what were these losses compared with the sacrifice, with which peace had to be purchas-

Der Freiherr von Goertz, in Woltman's Geschichte und Politik B. I. II. 1800.

ed from the Czar, compelled by his dreadful devastations on the coast of Friesland, against which the British fleets could afford no protection. The peace of Nystadt completed the work, for which Peter had been laboring for twenty years. 1720.

Peace was signed between Russia and Sweden at Nystadt, Sept. 10th, 1721. *a.* Sweden relinquished to Russia, Livonia, Esthlonia, Ingria and Karelia, a part of Wiborg, besides the islands Oesel, Dagoe and Moen, and all others from the boundaries of Courland to Wyborg. *b.* On the other hand, Finland was restored and two millions of dollars paid to Sweden. *c.* The Czar promised not to interfere in the internal affairs of Sweden. *d.* Poland and England were included in this peace.

22. The history of a war, thus carried on and thus terminated, displays, clearly enough, the vicissitudes of things in the north. But it was far less the gain or the losses of the war, that were decisive for the future, than the internal relations, which were now unfolded in most of the states of the northern system, in some for good, in others for evil.

23. Russia was now indisputably the first of them. The colossal monarch of that colossal empire had succeeded in giving the European character, not so much to his people, as to his court and his residence. His new creation in Petersburg stood firm; and not without reason did he now adopt the imperial title. Europe had already felt, that he had drawn nearer; but for the north the new dominion of the Baltic was the principal thing. After he navigated it victori- 1721.

ously with fleets of his own building, the Swedish dominion was of itself at an end.

24. Who could say, how far this extorted supremacy of Russia might lead? It depended on the personal character of the ruler. The sphere of Russia's activity remained, nevertheless, for a long time confined to the north; its navy never went beyond the Baltic and its army was formidable only to its neighbors. Peter himself in his last years wasted his powers against Persia; and though he had himself chosen his successor, it was soon felt that he was no more. The throne was often, afterwards, filled by revolutions; but they were revolutions of the court without disturbing the internal quiet; phenomena, frequent in similar great empires. But the foundation of Petersburg and the possession of the other ports on the Baltic, by which a way of exportation was opened to the products of the interior, as well as of importation to those of other countries, created within the empire, a change the more sure because it was not sudden.

25. Sweden stood like a tree stript of its branches; but the wounds that the war had inflicted, were neither the only ones, nor the deepest. An end had indeed been put to the abuses of unlimited power after the death of Charles; but the manner in which this was done, occasioned greater evils than the autocracy itself. The aristocrats usurped the sovereignty; the throne was filled by election; the council of the kingdom reigned, and the king possessed but little more than the title and the representation.

The younger sister of Charles XII. Ulrica Eleonora was elected Feb. 21st, 1719, the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, son of his elder sister, being passed over. A new constitution was framed; the sovereignty was renounced; and the co-equal authority of the council of the kingdom acknowledged. The crown was transferred from the queen to her husband, Frederic of Hesse, May 3d, 1720, with yet greater restrictions.

26. Poland presented a still more melancholy aspect. Devastated by foreign and civil wars, and by famine and the plague, that followed in their train, the peace itself did but mature new miseries. The Swedish war had, likewise, enflamed the religious discord; and the Jesuits took good care, that the fire should not be extinguished. The Dissidents now became, from compulsion, a political party.

The Dissidents began to be deprived of their political rights, in the diet of 1717. Their churches were torn down; massacres were perpetrated at Thorn, occasioned by the Jesuits, 1724, which had almost renewed the war with Russia.—The exclusion of the dissidents from the diets, the high offices and the *Starosties* were confirmed by the diet of 1733.

27. But while Poland appeared in a state of internal dissolution, the new Prussian monarchy had acquired a high degree of internal perfection. The fall of Sweden had freed it from a very troublesome neighbor, and after Frederic William I. had succeeded his extravagant father, a new creation came into being here, no less than in Russia; though in a very different way. Peter formed greatness from the great materials; here something similar was to be formed from proportionably small means. Thence it followed, that economy was necessarily the basis of Prussian power. 1713.

28. But this economy was shaped in a peculiar way in a state, which drew the greater part of its revenues from its domains. The management of these constituted, therefore, the most important part of the whole domestic administration; and Frederic William the First laid the foundation of the internal organization of the monarchy, by erecting the chambers of the domains, after the aboli-
1713. tion of hereditary leases, and subjecting
1723. them, as well as the management of the lands of the cities, to a general directory. In consequence of this regulation there was an annual fixed revenue, which rendered it possible to fix the expenditures with equal exactness; while the surplus was applied to the accumulation of a treasure. These regulations determined the whole spirit of the Prussian administration; which was not altered by the opening of sources of revenue, such as the excise etc., which in their nature are more variable.

29. Thus the favorite principle of unity in the administration, proceeding from the personal character of Frederic, was for the first time made effectual. The Prussian state was like a great household, managed in the most parsimonious manner. But even in private life, we do not always regard the most parsimonious house-keeping, as the most perfect. How much less so, when the reason of this strict economy is the gratification of a whim; for with Frederic William,—without the spirit of a great general or conqueror—his military system was not much more. But, notwithstanding, what consequences must follow the establishment of a

monarchy, in which the army was the principal thing?

30. The application, that was to be made of this army, depended on the genius of the ruler. But it was not by this alone, that Prussia operated on the rest of Europe; it was the relative strength, and the internal regulation of this army, soon to serve as a model for others, and in a great measure to form the standing armies. The maxim of maintaining a larger army, than the population could supply, led to the system of foreign levies, and all the cruelties connected with it; from which, again, sprang that odious impressment, which could serve to make the condition of a common soldier, neither respected nor desired.

31. Such was the geographical situation of this country, that it might be doubted, whether it belonged to the east or west. It had to see itself involved almost equally in the affairs of both; the disputes of the maritime powers and the Turkish wars alone lay beyond its sphere. The proofs of this were visible under Frederic William. But as yet on good terms with Austria, its hopes would have been limited to the acquisition of some Westphalian provinces, had not the northern war afforded an opportunity of agrandizement in Pomerania.

32. Denmark, though involved in the northern war, suffered the least change. It bore away Sleswick as its spoils; but the times were coming, when the offended house of Holstein-Gottorp would be able to excite in it bitter anxiety for the injury.

33. The last treaties of peace had left no contested point undecided; and the superiority of Russia and the exhaustion of the humbled Sweden were too great, to allow the rancor, which still remained here, to have any quick results. Under the two next reigns after Peter's death, the reigns of Catharine I. and Peter II., foreign policy was not the subject, that employed the Russian government; for Menschikow, and after his fall the Dolgorukies had too much to do for themselves; what did they care about foreign countries? Even the connexion with Austria, in 1726. which Catharine I. was drawn by the league of Vienna, (see p. 269) was at first attended by no consequences.

The reign of Catharine I., wholly under Menschikow's guidance, lasted from Feb. 9th, 1725, to May 17th, 1727. Under her successor, Peter II. (†Jan. 29th, 1730,) Menschikow was deposed Sept. 1727, and the Dolgorukies came into power.

34. But it was altogether different after Anne, 1730. Feb. to 1740. Oct. the niece of Peter the Great, and the widowed duchess of Courland ascended the throne. The attempt to restrict the supreme power ruined the native nobles; and a cabinet was now for the first time formed in Russia, consisting mostly of strangers. Very different in their hopes and projects, they all required the external splendor of the empire; and already initiated in the mysteries of politics, sought this splendor in foreign relations. But these were men, partially moulded in the school of Peter the Great. Where a Münnich and an Ostermann were active, the

sport of court intrigue itself led to bold projects; for even the all powerful favorite Biron saw in this the only means of exercising his despotism over the nation with impunity.*

35. One inducement to this foreign activity was held out by the duchy of Courland. As a fief of Poland, at the approaching extinction of the ducal house of Kettler, it was to revert to the country, in order to be united with it; but the states had set themselves against this scheme; and Anne improved these relations to procure it for her favorite Biron. From this time, Russia appointed to this duchy; but the revolutions in this empire had in almost every case an influence on Courland.

As early as 1726, the states, to prevent the union with Poland, had chosen count Maurice, of Saxony, the successor of the duke Ferdinand, even in his life-time; but Maurice was unable to maintain himself. After the death of Ferdinand in 1737, Ernest, duke of Biron, was elected under Russian influence. After his fall in 1741, Courland remained occupied by Russian troops; and although Charles, prince of Saxony, obtained the investiture from the Poles in 1759, Ernest of Biron was, nevertheless, after his recal from exile in 1762 by Peter III., again declared duke, and afterwards confirmed by Catharine II.

36. But a more important opportunity was offered, when the royal throne of Poland became vacant by the death of Augustus II. 1733.

* Mémoires politiques et militaires sur la Russie depuis l'année 1727, jusqu' à 1744, par le général de Manstein. à Leipsic. 1771.—The leading source for the history of the court and war.

Contributions in: Busching's Magazin. B. I. II. III. collected in the empire itself.

The nation desired a native; and, induced by France, chose, for the second time, Stanislaus Lescinsky, the father in law of Louis XV., with rare unanimity. But Augustus of Saxony gained Russia, by promising Courland to Biron, and Austria by acknowledging the pragmatic sanction. A Russian army decided for Augustus III.; while only a French corps came to the aid of Stanislaus; and though France and its allies found opportunity to compensate themselves amply in the west (see p. 273) it lost forever its confidence in Poland.

Stanislaus Lescinsky, who had returned to Poland in secret, was chosen at the impulse of prince Primas, Sept. 9, 1733. But the Russians quickly advanced under Lascy; and a counter choice was made of Augustus III. Oct. 5th, by a small number of nobles, Stanislaus retreating to Dantzic. Count Münnich obtained the chief command in order to remove him from the court. Dantzic was invested and reduced, after Stanislaus had escaped in disguise, June 30, 1734. The contest was settled at the *pacification-diet*, July 1736. It was agreed that, for the present, the country should be evacuated by the foreign troops.

37. The result of this war, therefore, was, that Augustus III. obtained the Polish crown, for which he was indebted to foreign aid. His government seemed merely a continuation of that of his father; and the seed of evils, which had germinated under the latter in the interior, could now thrive luxuriantly, because a long period of peace ensued. Nothing, therefore, prevented the nobles from corrupting their morals abroad, to which they were even invited by the fondness of the king for pomp. Never was this corruption of the state so fearful as here, where the nobility, and, among the no-

bility, the grandees, constituted the nation; and where morals alone had made the want of a constitution less perceptible. Every thing, therefore, deteriorated, while it was thought that every thing remained as of old. The time of awakening from this lethargy could not but come; but what a moment was it to be!

38. While Poland thus vegetated, and the contest of factions was preparing in Sweden, Russia turned its power against the Turks. The parties of the court deemed it judicious, now to execute the old project of Peter, to revenge the peace on the Pruth; and while the dominion of Russia was again extended to the Black Sea, to give employment to Münnich as commander in chief. The juncture seemed not ill chosen; for the Port was in Asia, combatting the conqueror Nadir Shah; but the issue showed, that in many points they had miscalculated.

The campaigns of Münnich from 1735 to 1739, were brilliant, but very costly. Azoph was conquered, and the Crimea was entered 1736, but could not be maintained. A fixed establishment was made on the mouths of the Dnieper, and the bloody conquest of Otchakov achieved 1737. But the campaign of the year 1738 was rendered unsuccessful by famine and the plague in the deserts of Ukraine. On the other hand, in 1739, a successful expedition was made beyond the Niester; a victory was gained at Stawutschane Aug. 28th; of which the conquest of Choczim and the possession of Moldavia were the consequence.*

39. But unhappily for Russia, it found in this

* Lebensbeschreibung des Russ. Kaiserl. Generalfeldmarschalls B. C. Grafen von Münnich von G. A. von Halem. Oldenburg. 1803.

war an ally in Austria, to which the treaty of alliance with Catharine I. gave a pretence for participation. But the hope of conquest was much disappointed. The Turks soon observed, that Eugene was no more; and the jealousy of the allies facilitated their operations. The losses of Austria brought it to the ignominious peace of Belgrade; which opened the way to a peace with Russia.

In the campaigns of the Austrians from 1736 to 1738, they were expelled from Servia, Bosnia and Walachia. The generals had to bear the faults of the court. The grand vizier advanced before Belgrade, 1739; under the walls of which place under French mediation peace was concluded Sept. 18th, 1739; for which Charles himself believed he owed an excuse to Anne. Conditions: 1. The evacuation and restoration of Belgrade, Orsowa and Sabacz to the Port. 2. The cession of Servia and Austrian Walachia. 3. The Bannat, on the other hand, was retained by Austria.—Russia now thought itself obliged to conclude a peace (Dec. 28th) in which 1. Azoph, razed however, was retained by Russia. 2. The boundaries were enlarged in the Ukraine. 3. All other conquests were to be restored to the Port.

40. By this peace, Austria lost all the fruits of the victories of Eugene, and the projects of Russia, to acquire a strong hold on the Black Sea, were reserved for accomplishment to a later time. Meanwhile, the ignominy of the peace of the Pruth was regarded as avenged; and this belief was not much less than the truth. Whatever the war had cost, the superiority of the Russians was decided; the interior organization of the Russian army was perfected, and not without reason has Münnich been called the Eugene of the North.

END OF VOL. I.

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